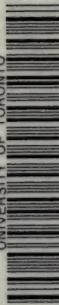


UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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I am,
yours truly,
W. Weir.

4758

SIXTY YEARS IN CANADA



BY

WILLIAM WEIR

*Secretary of the Tariff Reform Association
of 1858 and Government Agent for the
Exportation of American Silver
Coin in 1870.*

*" We talk of friends and their fortunes,
And of what they did and said;
Till the dead alone seem living,
And the living alone seem dead."*

Montreal :

JOHN LOVELL & SON

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INTRODUCTION.

In view of my long and somewhat eventful life, I have thought it would be of public interest to put on record many events which have come under my notice, and with some of which I have been closely identified, so that the present generation might have a clearer view of the struggles of their fathers and grandfathers in laying the foundations of the constitution and institutions which Canada enjoys to-day.

Sixty years ago the statesmen of England had but a dim idea of administering the affairs of the Colonies which her prowess and ambition had acquired. Through this lack of knowledge their grandfathers had lost the United States, and yet their lesson remained unlearned. In Canada there was a double problem to solve, and neither Downing Street nor the House of Commons knew how to solve it. Nor has it been altogether solved to this day. Not only had the French Colonists become a large body, but Western Canada was being rapidly filled up with an enterprising English-speaking and mostly Protestant population, with advanced ideas of constitutional government and church establishments. The attempt to rule the two Provinces from Downing Street had, owing to the domineering spirit of Government officials and their friends, led to rebellion in both Provinces in 1837 and 1838, and in 1840 a measure for the re-union of the two Provinces had been carried.

There can be no doubt that the object of this measure was, by filling up the Eastern Townships and the Ottawa Valley with English-speaking settlers, to *swamp* the French. But the race that settled in England under William the Conqueror, and that explored this country from Tadousac to New Orleans, is not easily swamped. The only wonder is that they did not adopt the English language also, for then they would have acquired the commercial as well as the political control of the Metropolitan city, if not of the whole country.

At all events, the French Colonists did not oppose this measure, as they did a similar proposal in 1823, feeling, evidently, that they would be safer with their fellow colonists than under those whom Louis Joseph Papineau described as "those haughty dominators who came among us to deny us the use of our laws, and customs, and our religion."

When I came to Canada in 1842, this Union was only being put into shape. It had hardly reached the experimental stage, in which it continued for a quarter of a century, expiring in 1867

"Unwept, unhonoured, and unsung,"

Although it is difficult to see what form of government would have suited them better, except the Federal Union, which came in due time; and, even that, had it come earlier, would probably have also been a failure.

CHAPTER I.

MY EARLY DAYS.

As this seems to be the proper place to speak of my early days in Scotland, those who are anxious to learn only of Canada had better turn down this chapter.

I was born at Greenden, in the parish of Farnell, Forfarshire, on the 28th October, 1823, and, after receiving a good education, went to Brechin as a shop-boy in my fourteenth year, where I remained for over three years. In 1841 I was one of the enumerators appointed to take the census of that year. The same year I was engaged as a clerk in Forfar, where I remained till the spring of 1842, coming to Canada with an elder brother.

Long before leaving home, I had taken a lively interest in matters of public concern, the first event I can remember being the general election in 1833, after the passing of the *Reform Bill* of 1832. Sir James Carnegie, the father of the present Earl of Southesk, whose tenants we were, was the "Tory" candidate, the "Whig" candidate being Captain Ross, of Rossie. We were, of course, all Tories, and wore blue ribbons, while the Whigs wore red, our side carrying the day. Oh how we did shout "Sir James for ever." against the "Rossi for ever" of those Brechiners, and if we could not silence them with our voices, tried to silence them with our fists.

I have a vivid recollection of a bloody nose in one of these efforts, and of that strange feeling which accompanies such an accident, worse than diving under water for the first time. That was the era of cock-fighting, and the big boys, more than now, encouraged the little boys to fight. We boys ascribed our success to the fact that Sir James' agents threw half-crowns and shillings amongst the crowd, while "Rossie's" agents threw only sixpences and pennies. Of course, these handfuls of money only paid for the cheering, and had little to do with the result; for that much vaunted measure, which was only carried by the aid of William the Fourth creating a sufficient number of new peers, only gave votes to landed or household proprietors, or to tenants who paid at least fifty pounds a year rent in the counties, and ten pounds a year in the boroughs, while the general run of tradesmen and labourers' rents was from five pounds to two pounds ten shillings a year.

My father was a well-known Tory, and a firm supporter of the Established Church, of which, like his ancestors and most of his brothers, he was an elder; and nearly all our people being either farmers or ministers, and opposed to the repeal of the *Corn Laws*, were Tories by interest as well as by training. For the landlords and farmers were not alone in supporting the *Corn Laws*; the stipends of the Established Church clergy were, and still are, fixed by the average prices of grain, for John Knox and his followers were as careful of the Church's Revenues as the Pope himself.

The agitation, having for its object the disestab-

ishment of the State Church, and known as the "Voluntary Movement," was at its height in 1837-8. The Secession and Relief Churches had become powerful bodies, with able leaders, who challenged the Established Church clergy to public discussions, which these were not slow to accept. These discussions, being held in the evenings, were to me a great intellectual feast, besides furnishing me with "voluntary" arguments to overwhelm my Tory father when visiting home on Sunday, for, like nearly all young people, I soon espoused the Liberal cause.

In 1838, these discussions gave place to the *Chartist* agitation, which was still under discussion when I left for Canada, but was being overshadowed by Cobden and Bright's agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws, which resulted in their repeal in 1846, or rather 1849, for it was not till the latter period that that measure went into full effect.

The reforms asked for by what was known as the "Peoples' Charter" were universal suffrage, annual Parliaments, vote by ballot, equal representation, no property qualification, and payment of members. The Chartist agitation spread over England, Scotland and Wales, and at one time threatened serious trouble. The Chartists, like the French Canadians of 1837, were divided into two classes, known as Moral Force and Physical Force Chartists. These latter could not be restrained by their peace-loving brethren, and seditious meetings and open drilling were quite common. Many arrests were made, and State trials were the order of the day. At Newport, in Wales, an important rising took place, headed by

John Frost, the mayor of the town, who, with Williams and Jones, were sentenced to be hanged and quartered, but whose sentences were commuted to banishment to Botany Bay, then a penal settlement, where they became peaceful, and, I believe, prosperous citizens.

While many of the Chartist leaders were, like Fergus O'Connor, violent Irishmen, the Irish people, so far as I remember, took little interest in the movement. Their hearts, then, as now, were set on repeal, and surely such devotedness will soon meet its reward. The great trouble seems to be the people of the North. But why not annex the North to Scotland and give the rest of Ireland their Parliament on College Green?

It is worth noting that while the Peoples' Charter is no more spoken of, the suffrage is now almost universal, voting is by ballot, property qualification of members is abolished, annual Parliaments are not wanted, while representation by population is gradually being effected. Looking back sixty-four years, I cannot help comparing Fergus O'Connor and the *Northern Star* with George Brown and the *Globe*. And, no doubt, George Brown derived much of his fiery zeal from the agitations, political and religious, of his early days.

In 1837 I was in Brechin when the news of the death of William the Fourth reached the city, and listened to the tolling of the big bell of the parish church to announce his decease. Then a merry peal, as the accession of Queen Victoria was proclaimed at the Market Cross. In 1838 I walked in the pro-

cession at the Coronation, carrying, like other lads of my age, laburnum branches, then in flower.

I forgot to mention that in my school days there were no school boards nor school inspectors. other than the ministers of the Presbytery, three or more of whom examined the schools from time to time, while the Established Church minister was understood to have the supervision of the parish school. The last time I passed an examination at school, the examining clergyman was the Rev. Dr. Brewster, of Craig, a brother of the celebrated Sir David Brewster. and of the Reverend Patrick Brewster, of Paisley, an eloquent preacher, but a *black sheep* among his brethren, owing to his advocacy of the People's Charter. No doubt the distress at that time among the "Paisley Weavers" led the kind-hearted parish minister to think of their condition, and to believe that a reform in the constitution would bring them relief, and, in the light of subsequent events, one cannot help paying a tribute to his memory.

In my early days there were no county constabulary, and beggars were as numerous as they were in the Province of Quebec ten years later, although none of them drove their horse and cart as I have seen them do in this paradise of beggars. The great difficulty was to find lodgings for them at night, for few farmers liked to refuse them a night's quarters, the farmers because they feared their ill-will, and their wives because they feared that their cows would be *bewitched* and refuse to let down their milk. Their usual quarters were the barn or byre; their flint and steel taken from them till the morning, as the greatest

danger was from fire, and it was a great relief to the farmers when begging was done away with.

Shortly after my going to Brechin, two events attracted a good deal of attention, one of general interest, the other more of a parish matter. The subject of general interest was the total abstinence movement, which was attracting a good deal of attention both in Ireland and Scotland. The friends of the movement in Brechin had engaged a Mr. Law to lecture on the temperance question, and to the surprise of many had secured the use of the parish church, the only place considered large enough to hold the crowd likely to attend; for it was announced that Mr. Law would distil the ordinary brewers' ale and convert it into whiskey. To those who understood brewing and distilling, this was no great miracle, but to the uninitiated it was something to talk about. The parish church was, and is, one of the few Roman Catholic cathedrals left standing at the time of the Reformation, which, if it reformed the Creed, certainly did not reform the church buildings. It is a large building with massive stone pillars and galleries all around like Notre Dame Cathedral, in Montreal.

On this occasion a platform had been erected in front of the pulpit, on which was placed Mr. Law's miniature distillery, the church being crowded to the doors. The lecturer proceeded without interruption till the ale put in the little still began to boil, and in the form of steam to pass into the condenser, once more taking the liquid form in the shape of a pretty strong whiskey, for alcohol, being lighter than water, comes

off first. As soon as the whiskey began to flow and to be tasted by some of the audience, a couple of gaugers from Glen Cadam distillery made their appearance, one of whom climbed up to the platform, and, in the Queen's name, seized the innocent little still; but much amusement was caused by his want of thought in laying his hand on the hot pipe, from which it was quickly withdrawn. Calling to his aid his assistant, with a view of removing the "illicit still," Mr. Law took from his pocket a large document which he put in the gauger's hands, having examined which that gentleman took his departure, amid the jeers and hootings of the crowd. The paper, Mr. Law explained, was authority from the Revenue Department to use the still in the course of his lectures. The object of the gauger was, however, probably attained in preventing the church being granted a second time for a similar purpose. Many signed the pledge that night, myself among the number, Mr. Law pointing out that the best time for young men to sign was *before* and not *after* they had formed the drinking habit.

The parish event of which I have spoken had reference to the vacancy in the parish church, caused by the death of the Rev. James Burns, the parish minister, a brother of the Rev. Dr. Robert Burns, the first principal of Knox College, Toronto, and an uncle of the well-known missionary, William Burns. The parish, being large, had two endowed ministers, and, as the stipends were liberal, there were several candidates in the field, which narrowed down to a choice between Mr. Norval, of Kerriemuir, and young

James McCosh, then an assistant minister in Arbroath, and who afterwards became the well-known principal of Princeton College, U. S. I heard the latter preach one of his "trial" sermons. He was very nervous, with a voice not equal to so large a building, and did not captivate his hearers as did his competitor, who was much more eloquent, and, of course, the favourite.

Unfortunately for Mr. Norval, he had been so attracted by a sermon then just published that he borrowed largely from it, and this coming to the ears of a friend of Mr. McCosh, the affair was brought before the Presbytery, and Mr. Norval, not only lost Brechin, but Kerriemuir also, having joined the Church of England, where it was said to preach a borrowed sermon was not considered a serious offence.

Before leaving Scotland, I heard not a few eloquent Chartist and Anti-Corn Law lecturers, as well as several eminent divines, including Dr. Thomas Guthrie, who belonged to Brechin, Dr. Wardlaw, of Glasgow, and the eloquent George Gilfillen, of Dundee. Also the far-famed astronomer and philanthropist, Thomas Dick, of Broughty Ferry, a venerable gentleman with white hair and a fine countenance that bespoke his character. His subject was: "The Benefit of Inventions to the Working Classes." He claimed that by new inventions none would be deprived of occupation, but that the hours of all would be shortened, and that the time would come when the working man would earn more in six hours than he did then in twelve.

But these reminiscences of my boyhood and youth must be hurried over or I shall never get where it was my intention to begin. Let me just say that nearly forty years after I heard Dr. McCosh preach in Brechin, it was my fortune to meet him at Cacouna, where the venerable Principal was enjoying a holiday. Here I had an opportunity of hearing him preach once more, and of comparing the timidity of youth with confidence and dignity of age.

Sailing from Dundee early in April, 1842, we reached Montreal at the end of May, the voyage having occupied seven weeks and four days. And here begins the story of my "Sixty Years in Canada."

CHAPTER II.

On my arrival at Montreal I proceeded to Lachute, where my paternal uncle (who had come out twenty years before had established a distillery and brewery. Here, in the absence of anything better, I became tutor to my uncle's large family, but soon found a position as a teacher in one of the district schools in the neighbouring township of Chatham, then well settled, mostly by the descendants of U.E. Loyalists, with a few English, Irish and Scotch families. The salary was twenty pounds a year from the Government and about as much more from school fees. There was then a more liberal feeling between Catholics and Protestants than exists to-day. Dr. Meilleur was superintendent of both Roman Catholic and Protestant schools; a grand old man, whom it was a pleasure to meet. The few Roman Catholic children in the district came to my school till 1844, when a zealous *cure* at St. Andrews caused their withdrawal, probably owing to the arrival of the Swiss Protestant missionaries, who were making a great stir just then.

The books in use at that time were Mavor's Spelling Book, the Old and New Testament, the English Reader, Reid's Geography, Walkinghame's Arithmetic and Lennie's English Grammar; the latter, to my mind, the best grammar for elementary

schools ever published, although McCulloch's had taken its place in many schools in Scotland before I left. Young as I was, I felt the need of a treatise on agriculture, and spoke to Dr. Meilleur on the subject, but nothing was done, and even now there is room for improvement in this matter. True, there is an American treatise on *Agriculture* used in some of our academies, but nothing in the common schools, and now that we have men like Professor Robertson, who have made a special study of soils, manures, drainage and fruit trees, there should be no trouble in securing a valuable treatise on these subjects for our common schools, for it is in these that three-fourths of our young farmers receive their education.

My principal object in going to the country was to acquire a knowledge of the French language, which was then necessary in order to secure a good situation. During my two years in Chatham, I had given my spare time to the study of French, and, after a short course at St. Therese College, obtained a situation in the office of Daniel McDonald, who then kept a large wholesale and retail store at St. Laurent, where I remained till the spring of 1847, when I found a situation in Montreal, commencing business on my own account as a commission merchant and exchange broker two years later.

I was not indifferent during those early years to the political movements going forward. There was much ill-feeling between the two races, but the English were mostly to blame. The French were

polite and gentle, while the English, or it would be more correct to say the English-speaking people, were, as a rule, rude and overbearing towards their French-speaking neighbours. This does not refer to those who lived in the French villages, for the greatest good-will existed between the two races, but to the English-speaking settlements. At Lachute I had heard of the volunteers going out infantry and coming back cavalry, having carried off the poor Frenchmen's horses; while at Grand Brute I was told that whole families of women and children took to the woods when they heard the soldiers were coming, and more than one mother, with her children around her, were found frozen under the trees when the snow melted. Of course, those who urged on the war were much to blame, but those who provoked the war were to blame also.

The change from Imperial rule to responsible government was not effected without much ill-feeling. It must be remembered that the Public Works Department, the Post Office Department and the Customs Department were all under Imperial control, and the appointees to the principal offices were held by nominees of Downing Street. And, not only so, but the clergy reserves were in the hands of the English church clergy or controlled by them, so that there was a strong body opposed to the changes which local rule was likely to bring about. It was no easy task to be a Governor-General or Prime Minister in those days; and yet it would appear that the Imperial Government considered Canada a "health resort,"

and sent out sick men to administer the Government.

My intercourse with the French inhabitants during those early years in Canada had led me to see things from the French Canadian standpoint, and I had no sympathy with those whose violent and unreasonable agitation led to the destruction of the Parliament buildings and the loss to Montreal of the seat of Government.

CHAPTER III.

The Imperial Act of 1840, which re-united the two Provinces, had one clause which provided that any Act giving one Province more representatives than another required to be carried by a two-thirds' vote. This was a protection to the British settlers, who were then in the minority, but in time favoured Lower Canada, when the Upper Canadians came to be in the majority and demanded "representation by population." Another clause, in the framing of which it was said John Strachan, Bishop of Toronto, had a hand, provided that any Bill respecting the Clergy Reserves should be approved by the House of Commons before becoming law. That clause really rendered an Imperial Act necessary before these Reserves could be dealt with. But the most anomalous part of British Colonial Government was, that after nearly fifty years of local government, the Imperial Government *imposed the duties on imports*, and it was not till 1846 that that right was transferred to Canada. It is evident, however, that after the Union, Great Britain limited her action in respect to tariffs, for in 1842 the Canadian tariff imposed by the Imperial Parliament had reference only to goods, wares and merchandise imported from foreign countries, leaving Canada to deal with imports from Great Britain and her Colonies.

Shortly after the Union a most extraordinary understanding seems to have been arrived at, known as the *Double Majority*. This understanding was defined in a letter written by Mr. Caron to Mr. Draper in connection with the formation of a Canadian Ministry. The letter bears date the 17th September, 1845:—

“It has been assumed, as a principle, that the direction of affairs should be in the hands of the two prevailing parties in each section of the Province; that the administration ought no more to govern Lower Canada by means of a majority obtained in Upper Canada than it ought to govern Upper Canada by means of the aid that Lower Canada should give it; and that no administration whatever ought to last any longer than it shall be sustained by each section of the Province respectively.”

This curious agreement brought about strange combinations, and seemed a fulfilment of the prophecy that the lion and the lamb should lie down together. It, however, continued to be respected till 1858, when, after a three nights' debate, it was condemned by a large majority. What with the opponents of the Clergy Reserves in Upper Canada and the leaning of the Catholic clergy in Lower Canada the other way, the cry for protection in Lower Canada, and for free trade in the Upper Province, the Governor-General and the Ministers of the day had their hands full; and, in addition to all this, there was the ill-feeling between the races, for which the English-speaking people were mainly to blame, through the

control which the Family Compact in Upper Canada strove to maintain, to say nothing of Papineau's "dominators" in the Lower Province. Such was the state of affairs when Lord Metcalfe came to Kingston in 1843. Is it to be wondered at that, with his British and Indian training, he should lean towards the Family Compact and the State Church, and against those, who, a few years before, had taken up arms against the Queen? Lord Metcalfe was more accustomed to guide his advisers than to be guided by them. He was not accustomed to have important matters decided without being consulted, and affairs finally reached a point which forced the resignation of his ministers. An appeal to the country followed, in which, rightly or wrongly, the Governor-General was sustained.

But death had laid its hand upon that noble man, who never should have been sent to Canada, and, suffering from cancer, he left the country in 1845, and died in 1846.

At the Union of the Provinces in 1840, Lower Canada had a population of 661,380, and the Upper Province a population of 465,367, and to have given Upper Canada the same number of representatives was clearly unfair to the Sister Province. On the other hand, no provision was made for a change in the future, and as the population of Upper Canada was increasing much faster than that of the Lower Province, it was clear that the advantage would soon be the other way.

Since my arrival in the country three Governors-

General had come to Canada. Lord Metcalfe in 1843, Lord Cathcart in 1845 and Lord Elgin in 1847, making, with Sir Charles Bagot, who was Governor-General on my arrival, four Governors-General within five years. The first three were in poor health and went home to die. Of the last I shall have more to say in due time.

CHAPTER IV.

The year 1847 was the year of the fatal ship fever. I was then in Montreal, and shall never forget the sights daily witnessed. The records show that from the early part of the season to the first of November, 9,634 deaths had occurred from that fatal disease. Large sheds were erected in a field at Point St. Charles, where the emigrants were conveyed from the ships, the saddest sight being to see the nuns, at the risk of their own lives, carrying the sick women and children in their arms from the ships to the ambulances to be taken to the sheds, the majority to be laid in the trenches in rough deal coffins. I visited the sheds one Sunday afternoon. They formed a large square with a court in the centre, where the coffins were piled; some empty, awaiting for the dead, and some full, awaiting burial. I tried the weight of one coffin standing above another which appeared to be empty, but on lifting the lid found a skeleton within. On another occasion I saw the Mayor (John E. Mills) and Lord Elgin visiting the ships on horseback, and afterwards riding towards the sheds. Later in the season the mayor fell a victim to the fatal disease, as did many nuns, clergymen and others whose duties brought them in contact with the afflicted sufferers. I have often wondered why so many thousands of starved and perishing people were allowed to leave Ireland, but that unfortunate country was on the eve of the rebellion of 1848, which required all the power of the Government to control.

CHAPTER V.

The advent of a man of Lord Elgin's high character and gentle and noble bearing would, under ordinary circumstances, have been welcomed by all parties, but the circumstances were not ordinary, as it soon appeared that those who had promoted the Union of the Provinces would only be satisfied as long as that Union kept them in office. Seeing that every four English-speaking voters had as many votes as six French-speaking voters, surely the former had no reason to complain, but, claiming to be the loyal party, *par excellence*, they set at nought all considerations of constitutional government, and when, on the 25th of April, 1849, Lord Elgin assented to what was known as "The Rebellion Losses' Bill," a disloyal mob of so-called "Loyalists" burned the Parliament House, assaulted the Governor-General, and really forced Parliament to leave Montreal, *never to return*. And this incalculable loss to the real capital city of Canada was brought about because a sum of four-hundred thousand dollars (not half as much as was given to help the creditors of the Bank of Upper Canada) was voted to meet the losses of those who had been innocent sufferers through the rebellion of 1837-8. This, of course, was only a pretext, for when the short-lived victory of Lord Metcalfe's conservative friends had come to an end by a new election, and the Liberals were again in office, the most

bitter feelings existed between the "ins" and the "outs." And not only in the Legislative Assembly, but in the Legislative Council, did this feeling exist. I, myself, heard Peter McGill speak in the Council against the Bill; although a just and honourable man, his feelings had carried him away.

The burning of the Parliament House took place on a Wednesday evening, and I happened to be at a lecture in the basement of Dr. McGill's church on St. Helen street, near the scene of the fire, and the moment the fire-bells rang joined the crowd of men and boys, fire-engines and water-carts that were hurrying down McGill street to the scene of the fire. The wooden and glass structure at the west end of the building facing McGill street was already on fire. It contained stationary and books of reference, and reached the top of the second story, or Legislative Assembly Rooms. One engine was already at work, but the engines of those days were poor affairs, the water being partly supplied by the puncheons of water-carriers and such wells in the neighbourhood as could be reached. The hose was leaking badly; some said they were cut, but I saw no sign of such being the case. In five minutes the whole wooden structure was in a blaze, and soon the fire entered the lower story of the stone building, under the Assembly Rooms, occupied by the departmental offices, and in a quarter of an hour had reached the main entrance, half-way to the east end of the building. At this time I made my way to the east end, as it was said a number of people were still in the building, and their only

means of escape was by that end. A wooden gallery, fifteen or twenty feet wide, extended eastward, on which the members of the Legislative Council used to promenade. On this gallery there were quite a number of gentlemen who had been shut up when the fire reached the main entrance, and had no means of escape except by climbing over the railing and sliding down the wooden pillars that supported the gallery, which many did, one stout gentleman losing his hold and falling heavily on the platform below. There still remained a small crowd on the gallery, when one gentleman who had not lost his presence of mind called out "a ladder for Sir Allan McNab," when more than one ladder soon reached the gallery, and, like St. Paul's fellow travellers, all were soon safely landed. Of course, Sir Allan had left by the centre door, but his friends did not know that, while all knew that he was nursing a gouty foot, and could not, to save his life, have got over the railing or down the pillars.

It was never known who set fire to the building. No one was near the west end when I reached the scene, and the whole programme to set the fire below and assail the members in the house above must have been pre-arranged. The causes which preceded and led up to the burning of the building were, it is well known, the meetings held on the *Champ de Mars*, at which inflammatory speeches were made by the leaders of the crowd, and in connection with which J. Moir Ferres, W. Gordon Mack, Alfred Perry, H. E. Montgomerie and Augustus Howard were arrested.

but never brought to trial. The most blameworthy of all was, no doubt, J. Moir Ferres, then editor of the *Montreal Gazette*, an aristocratic-looking gentleman with a wooden leg, whose speeches and articles were such as to arouse the bitter feelings of the unreasoning crowd. How Augustus Howard ever became mixed up with such a crowd I cannot tell. He was, I think, brought up in the Bank of Montreal, whose officers are all supposed to be gentlemen, but when the president (Peter McGill) encouraged the rioters, who can blame those brought up under his care ?

It was soon seen that any efforts to save the Parliament buildings were useless, and the fire-engines were directed to save the Grey Nunnery, situated in a yard on the south side and near the east end of the burning buildings. A cordon of men was formed to bring water from the river in buckets by handing them from hand to hand. I worked at one of those engines till one o'clock in the morning, and went home unable to lift my arms.

Next evening another meeting was called on the *Champ de Mars*, and I went there to see what was going on. When I heard the crowd calling "to Hincks's," I ran the shortest way to Beaver Hall, where Mr. Hincks then lived, and gave the alarm to the family, and assisted in putting valuable paintings and furniture out of danger, helping the coachman to carry a large mirror across the field (now Miss Dow's garden) to a house still standing. I did not know Mr. Hincks then except by sight, and he

never knew who helped to save his mirror till after the Silver Nuisance, when I told him I had been well paid for my services on that occasion.

A week later it was rumoured that Lord Elgin was attending a meeting of the Executive Council in the old *Chateau de Ramsay*, then the Executive Council Chamber, having arrived unexpectedly without interruption. A crowd soon gathered, extending from the west end of the court house to St. Denis street. I was there, of course, and remember seeing the big figure of Colonel Gagy going round with his overcoat over his arm, exhorting the crowd to conduct itself peaceably. It struck me then that his advice came late, seeing that he was one of those who had fanned the flame. On retiring from the Council Chamber the Governor-General ordered his carriage to turn eastward and up St. Denis street, thus escaping the bulk of the crowd, which, however, ran up St. Lawrence street to the corner of Sherbrooke street, where it attacked the carriage; but the Governor, wishing to avoid bloodshed, for he had a good mounted body-guard, ordered his carriage to turn up St. Lawrence street, and to proceed to "Monklands" by the mountain roads.

CHAPTER VI.

The agitation did not end here. Petitions were got up praying for the recall of Lord Elgin on no stronger grounds than that he had acted the part of a constitutional ruler, and, instead of throwing the ill-feeling upon the Imperial Government by reserving the measure for the approval of the Queen, took the responsibility upon himself. As will appear later on, the free trade measures of the Imperial Government had strained the relations between the Home Government and her North American Colonies, and Lord Elgin was clearly unwilling to strain them still more. The fact was, the malcontents were *out of office*, with no hopes of a speedy return, and the agitation was continued.

A convention was called to meet at Kingston, and met there on the 25th of July, 1849, to the number of 140 delegates from 80 different constituencies, being mostly self-elected. This was a remarkable assembly, and, like the cave of Adullam, all that had a grievance were there; but the thought uppermost in their minds seemed to be how to get rid of what they were pleased to call "French domination." Most of the delegates declared against annexation, which they saw would not help them, while nearly all favoured a union with the Lower Provinces, which they believed would "swamp" the French vote.

Among those present were Hon. George Moffatt, W. Aiken, E. H. Parsons, Henry Corby, G. C. Bogert, George Crawford, F. W. Powell, Alexander Monro, Ogle R. Gowan, Wm. Gamble, J. W. Pope and John A. Macdonald (afterwards Sir John). These gentlemen, and many others, all well known fifty years ago, elected as their chairman the Hon. George Moffatt, of Montreal, a fine looking gentleman, whose dignified bearing added much to the appearance of the whole assembly and to the decorum of the whole proceedings. The convention sat for several days, and rejected many crude and ill-considered resolutions. From those that were adopted, a Committee evolved the following address:—

BRITISH AMERICAN LEAGUE.

President:

Hon. George Moffatt.

Vice-Presidents:

Hon. W. Allen, Toronto,
John Young, Hamilton,
John R. Forsythe, Kingston,
Thomas Wilson, Quebec,
John Prince, Sandwich,
Hon. Wm. Morris, Montreal,
W. Gordon Mack, Cor.-Secretary,
J. H. Isaacson, Recording-Secretary,
H. E. Montgomery, Treasurer.

ADDRESS

*To the Inhabitants of Canada, adopted 31st July,
1849, in General Convention at Kingston :*

Fellow countrymen:

Events so momentous as those which have given birth to this great Provincial Association have been hitherto unparalleled in the history of this Colony.

From the earliest settlement of the United Empire Loyalists in this Province until a recent period, its people have evinced an attachment to the Parent State unsurpassed by that of any other Colony of ancient or modern times. During a long period, checked by adversity and prosperity, the people of this Colony have in war rallied round the flag of their forefathers, and in peace have endeavoured to cement the union with the fatherland by the strongest ties of amity and interest. In return for the devotion, the British Government had extended to this Colony a commercial preference in her markets.

The harmony which so long existed, interrupted by an open rebellion, was again restored at its close, and the progress of the Colony became almost unexampled, under the fostering influence of a wise Imperial legislation. But, unhappily for Great Britain, an Empire whose Colonies are the strong arm of her power, she has recently opened her ports to foreign nations upon equal terms with her Colonies, thus virtually excluding us from her markets by throwing us into a ruinous competition with those to whom her ports are more immediately and cheaply

accessible. In her promulgation of free trade principles she has lost sight of the interests of her Colonies with the view of obtaining from all nations reciprocal free trade, and thereby inundating the world with her manufactures. This new policy of the Empire has recently produced in Canada its inevitable results. Unprotected by an adequate tariff, we have continued to consume a vast amount of British manufactures, whilst our produce, the principal source upon which we rely for their payment, have rarely entered the British markets except at a sacrifice.

The result has been a monetary pressure, extensive bankruptcy and general distress.

Coincident with these disastrous circumstances, a storm arose in our political horizon which had threatened, and still threatens, to shake the foundations of our social fabric. The Legislature, ruled by a faction (which for the retention of place and power), has kindled afresh the animosity of rival races, has legalized the principle of rebellion, and has prepared to increase the public debt at a moment of great financial embarrassment, by a provision for the traitors of 1837-8.

These grievances aroused thousands from a state of torpor and inaction. Your fellow subjects convinced that a crisis had arrived when it behoved every inhabitant of Canada to exert himself for the regeneration of his country, and rescue it from commercial and political thralldom, met, and, by combined action, established the *British American League*.

INHABITANTS OF CANADA.

You are nominally enjoying the privileges of a free constitution; you are in reality chained down by circumstances which wrest from you the exercise of those privileges. You are told that you are fostered by a liberal and prudent Government—in reality your efforts for the encouragement of home industry have been checked, in too many instances, by hasty and inconsiderate legislation.

After a plea for a carefully adjusted protectionist tariff, the address continues: "The present tariff is utterly inadequate to produce results so manifestly essential to the interests of our country. *The present Government is pledged to Free Trade principles.*"

Then follows the charge of extravagance, the usual stock charge of every opposition. Then comes the combined resolution of the Parliament House burners, as follows:—

"A law has been passed by the present Ministry, so monstrous in principle that it has excited strong abhorrence and disgust in the minds of the loyal people of this Colony. That measure, in its naked deformity, has met with no approval. It has been carried merely because the British members of the Government dared not to oppose the determined will of the French leader. By sanctioning that measure, His Excellency, the Earl of Elgin, has brought the Royal Authority into contempt, has disturbed public tranquility, and it is our firm opinion that his continuance in his high position cannot conduce to public peace or prosperity.****

“ Three subjects among those which have engaged our deliberations stand prominently forth demanding your earnest attention.

“ By the first of these—a union of the North American Provinces—it has been proposed in this connection to lay the foundations for making this country a great nation upon a solid and enduring basis.

“ Impressed with the weight of such a proposal, but uncertain as to the sentiments of the Sister Colonies, this Convention has proposed a conference with those Provinces, by a delegation of some of its members; meantime, it recommends this great question to your mature deliberation.

“ The second great movement in which we invite your co-operation is that for retrenchment and economy in the public expenditure.

“ The third is that still more great and vital movement we are prepared to make in favour of protection to home industry.”****

After an appeal to their patriotism, in the usual grand, eloquent style, the Address concludes:—

“ Rouse yourselves then to action, organize—agitate these questions—and rescue your country from present and impending evils.

George Moffatt, *Chairman.*

Wm. Gordon Mack, } *Joint Secretaries.*
W. Brook, }

Kingston, 31st July, 1849.”

With W. Gordon Mack as one of the secretaries, the address smelt too much of fire to be well re-

ceived in the Lower Provinces, the newspapers there ridiculing the idea of taking Canada's *nuts out of the fire*. Besides, they were but tyros in statesmanship, who would have mixed up their appeal to the Lower Provinces with any declaration of principles, which might not meet the views of those Provinces. The Convention, to please every one that had a grievance, included Ogle R. Gowan's fiery attack on the French Canadians, and W. H. Parson's protectionist views, with which many Liberals in Lower Canada agreed. But all this was calculated to render *null and void* the effort to accomplish the greater purpose of a union of the Provinces, and one wonders that a man of George Moffatt's ability and shrewdness would have put his name to such a document.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GLASGOW RECIPROCITY ASSOCIATION.

The "canny Scotchmen" of Glasgow must needs have their fingers in this Canadian pie. They established a Glasgow Reciprocity Association, the object of which was declared to be "to obtain free trade with foreign States on the basis of a true and equitable reciprocity, and to adopt all reasonable and legitimate means to promote the interests of British and Colonial industry." These Scotchmen maintained that "it was the duty of the British Legislature to have established free trade with the Colonies to the utmost extent warranted by the state of the revenue before proceeding to give to our foreign rivals the unrestricted, untaxed, unreciprocated privilege of competing in the British markets with heavily taxed British industry."

The Glasgow Association evidently feared that the British American League would go over to the Annexationists, for it exhorts them to be true to their allegiance, and reminds them of their great inheritance in North America, adding, "and that to the North American Colonists, aided by England, belong, by way of the St Lawrence and lakes, the trade of the far west, a trade only yet in its infancy, and capable of such extension as defies calculation."

These "Glasgow bodies" continue:—"The Colonists ought to consider well the advantages they possess; to sympathise and co-operate with their countrymen at home in obtaining reforms and just concessions from the Imperial Legislature rather than countenance any party, who, to serve private ends, may suggest separation from the protection and wealth and power of Britain, in order to begin a competition with the rival States of the Union."

These warnings so far as Montreal was concerned, passed unheeded, for the question of peaceable annexation with the United States was being freely discussed and generally approved, particularly by the shipping interests and mercantile community generally, which had suffered severely by recent Imperial legislation.

An address to the people of Canada had been drawn up and signed by a large number of merchants and others in the fall of 1849, and it was decided to hold a meeting to bring the question more fully before the public. As this meeting and the annexation address are now of historic interest, I abridge from the newspapers of the day the first, and, including its adjournment, the last annexation meeting in Montreal.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ANNEXATION MEETING.

Pursuant to requisition, a meeting of the signers of the *Address* to the people of Canada in favour of a peaceable separation from Great Britain and of annexation to the United States was held in the Temperance Hall, St. Maurice Street, on the 12th December, 1849, for the purpose of forming an association for promoting that object.

Benjamin Hart, Esq., proposed that John Redpath, Esq., do take the chair, which was carried by acclamation.

“Mr. Redpath, therefore, assumed the chair, and Messrs. John Glass and J. B. E. Dorion were appointed secretaries. After some introductory remarks, the chairman said: “The Parliament of Great Britain had thought fit to change the policy of the Empire from a protection to a free trade system. This change had been ruinous to this country. We had no right, however, to question the propriety of the change, if it was made to promote the prosperity of England. If the new system was adopted for the purpose of giving cheap bread to her thirty millions of people, even although it should prove injurious to the million and a half of people in this country, we had no right to question the propriety of the change. They thought it would prove advantageous to the

Empire, and the English statesmen had a right to adopt it. We could not now expect that they would ever return to the policy which they had abandoned. But although he did not question the wisdom of the Imperial Parliament, we could not shut our eyes to the fact that this change of policy had brought this country to ruin. Most of us had already proposed separation from Great Britain and annexation to the United States. This was no mere theoretical remedy. If they looked across the line they saw the agriculturists getting 20 per cent. more for their produce than the farmers on this side. They saw property one half more valuable there than here, mechanics getting more wages, and people contented and happy. He hoped nothing would ever be done except by peaceful means, for he could never be a party to any other. The League would not listen to annexation at its first meeting, but now many members are disposed to support it. They are going a round-about way, while we were going straight forward. After continuing in the same strain for some time, it was moved by Hugh Taylor, Esq., and resolved:—

“That it is expedient, under the evils that afflict our country and the depression of its material interests, that all animated by a desire for its welfare should associate with the view to the attainment of a remedy, and we do, therefore, form ourselves into an association for that purpose; and, to promote the social amelioration of Canada, we adopt the sentiments of ‘The Address to the people of Canada,’ published in the journals of the city in October last.”

JACOB DE WITT, ESQ., M.P.P., seconded the resolution, and said :—

“ I feel that we are called upon to come forward and propose some remedy for our suffering country. Although I can only expect to aid her a feather’s weight, yet, sir, I do not feel at liberty to withhold that feather’s weight. We find the industrious classes leaving the land. We cannot induce our children to settle and cultivate the land in Canada, because the produce will hardly pay the labour of cultivation, the land, in many cases, placing the proprietors of the soil in a worse position than the hired labourer.

“ I would appeal to you why it is that so many wealthy, moral and industrious people who emigrate from the British Isles come to New York and settle in the United States, and many of them, after passing through Canada, proceed to the Western States, thus enriching that country by their fortunes, their experience, their skill, their labour and their example. If Canada formed two States of the American Union, I believe a large part of those people would settle with us, as we should have free trade from Gaspé through all the States and Territories to the Pacific Ocean. We should have ten times as many ships at Quebec as we have now. Look at the steamboats leaving New York daily with their 500 passengers and compare them with ours at Quebec. Sir, we work for our country, and not for party, or pension, or place. *La Patrie avant tout.*” After some further remarks, Mr. de Witt closed as follows :—

“ Sir, I trust when this Province separates from the parent State, the children may retain their affection and respect for the parent, and receive the father’s blessing.”

The resolution was unanimously carried. Benjamin Holmes, Esq., M.P.P., moved the second resolution, as follows:—

“ That our state of Colonial dependence can only be prolonged at the sacrifice of our most valuable interests, and that this meeting, considering the social, commercial and political difficulties of Canada, and feeling the weight of the evils that oppress our society, believe that the only attainable measure capable of permanently improving our condition consists in a peaceable separation from Great Britain, with her consent, and the annexation of Canada to the United States of America.”

In moving the adoption of the resolution, Mr. Holmes, after some preparatory remarks, said:—

If I believed it possible to maintain our existing connection, and at the same time had a reasonable hope that our country would not thereby be doomed to poverty and ruin, I, for one, would oppose what I now advocate—a peaceable and friendly severment of the political connection between Canada and England and annexation to the United States. We are told by those who have protested against the address that the evils we complain of may be overcome by legislative enactments, but do not tell in their wisdom what those legislative enactments are to be. No, that is left to fancy. On looking over the list of

signers to the protest, we discover among the few well-known names the salaried officers of the Government, a number of their clerks and dependents, some twenty or thirty known monopolists and protectionists, with five or six names hitherto known as the strenuous advocates of free trade. It is admitted on almost all hands that Canada must eventually become a part of the great American Republic; but it is said by those who affect to be exclusively loyal that we ought to make every effort to induce Great Britain to return to her protective policy before making any other move. Some affect to believe that, for fear of losing Canada, England may be induced to again enact the Corn Laws, and again consign her working millions to the starvation from which they have lately escaped by the repeal of those odious laws—laws which ground the labouring classes to abject misery, to increase the revenues of a landed aristocracy. There may be some who deplore the abrogation of the Corn Laws in England—he trusted there were few in Canada. The industrious classes of this continent, thank God, are not yet so debased as to rejoice at, or seek to impose a protection tax on the food of the poorer classes of England.”

Mr. Holmes continued, at some length, to point out the advantages to Canada which would result from annexation to the United States. Wheat, which was selling in Canada at 3s. 9d., or 75s., was across the line at 5s., or \$1.00. Superfine flour was worth in Montreal 20s. 6d.; across the line was worth 26s. Our farmers were selling their oats at 1s., or 20c. the minot; at

Burlington they were worth 36c. Peas, selling in Canada at 2s., or 40c., were worth in New York 75c. to 80c. We may admire, we may love England, but our people cannot starve for the honour of her protection. Here it is the fashion to raise a revenue out of the pockets of the poorer classes. We tax sugar, tea, coffee, rice and tobacco from 25 to 75 or 90 per cent. The people of the United States pay no tax on those articles, except on sugar, and that they raise at home, or, if imported, it is subject to a duty of 2s. 6d. per cwt., but here the duty is 11s. 6d. to 12s. 6d. per cwt. The poor man is taxed 30 per cent.; the rich man, for his superfine coat, 12½ per cent.

After pointing out the benefits to the lumber trade and to the great water powers of the Province of Lower Canada, and to its intelligent, but unemployed population, Mr. Holmes moved the above resolution, which was seconded by William Molson, Esq., and carried without a dissenting voice.

Robert Mackay, Esq., moved and A. A. Dorion seconded the third resolution, fixing the name of the association as the *Annexation Association of Montreal*, and setting forth its by-laws.

John Rose, Esq., moved the fourth resolution:—

“That we bind ourselves towards each other (burying in oblivion all past dissensions), cordially to co-operate in such means as may best promote the objects of the association; and we invite the people of Canada generally to form similar associations in the same fraternal spirit.”

In moving the resolution, Mr. Rose said:—

“It is easy to raise an inconsiderate cry of treason and disloyalty, but from the time the Province was conquered to the present day, we find abundant justification for our course in the declarations of many of the leading statesmen of England with respect to the continuance of that connection, whose advantage and disadvantage to us we are now called upon dispassionately to investigate. Was there treason in the opinion of Lord St. Vincent expressed to Lord Shelburne on the signing of the peace of 1793? ‘How can you hope to keep Canada with an English Republic established in its sight? It is impossible, and rely upon it, you only retain a running sore, the source of endless disgust and expense. Nothing but difficulty in keeping it or resigning it will be known.’”

But the declaration from so able a statesman does not stand alone. Lord Brougham described the same acquisition as “Loading the policy of England with a burden not yet shaken off, and which is every day more difficult to bear.” Lord Ashburton, too, in a recent debate, uttered a corresponding sentiment:—

“As long as the Canadians were content to remain in their present condition, under the protection of this country, it was well that they so continue, but if they demand to be separate, to take on themselves a national character, then it appeared to him that it would be the wisest course, the most liberal, and the most consistent with sound policy, to shake hands with them and let them join the North Americans, if they so thought fit. If the grandeur of England should

fade, and her prosperity decay, the greatest monument of glory would remain in her Colonies.

“Were it necessary, I could quote citation on citation to prove that England considers, and has for years considered, our present relations to her both burdensome and unprofitable; and, if this be true, are we to be unmanly and ungenerous enough to seek to perpetuate that burden? Has she not sought to train us to self-reliance and fit us for self-government? Has not the policy towards us been dictated by that considerate and maternal regard for our future destiny which demands our gratitude, while it exacts our co-operation?”

“There cannot, to my mind, be a grander, a more sublime thought, than that the parent State, after training her Colonial subjects to self-reliance, should, with feelings of kindred affection and pride, seek to elevate them to a position among the nations of the world, to perpetuate her institutions and secure allies, on whose affection and duty she might rely and look for succour in time of need. Had the separation of the old Colonies been consummated in this spirit, would not their relations to the Parent State have been such as I am now depicting? And, notwithstanding the irritating circumstances which accompanied their separation, time has buried much in oblivion; and who will deny that England regards with a feeling of pride the position which her offspring now occupies among the nations of the earth? The *possibility* of a change is, no doubt, so repugnant to some, whose early associations have connected

them intimately with England, that they would sooner relinquish all earthly possessions than the heritage of being Englishmen. This chivalrous and impassioned devotion I admire and respect. It emanates from the same feeling which actuates us to show our attachment to her institutions and laws, and that freedom and independence the possession of which is our birthright. To my own feelings I do not hesitate to avow that the idea of a change is repugnant and forbidding. But it is our duty to sink these personal considerations in deciding on so momentous question as the present. There is no need to quench that attachment and affection that binds us to the land of our birth; no, it will burn more brightly as we feel ourselves in the full possession of those privileges which we conceive will flow upon us.

“I have but one other consideration to bring under your notice, and it is this—there is a strong, almost universally prevailing conviction, even among those who oppose us, that sooner or later the change we contemplate must take place. If this be true, on what grounds should we desire to continue the state of transition? To protract is cruelty; and we are unmanly enough to leave, as a legacy to our children, a task from the performance of which we shrink ourselves.”

Mr. Laberge seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

F. G. Johnson, Esq. (afterwards Sir Francis).
moved:—

That this meeting do now adjourn to this day week in this place at noon, then to meet for the election of officers, and that the following gentlemen be a committee to nominate a ticket for consideration :—R. Mackay, A. A. Dorion, D. Torrance, H. Mulholland and J. Ostell—*Carried*.

Benjamin Hart then moved that Mr. Redpath leave the chair, that Wm. Molson, Esquire, do take it, when the thanks of the meeting were given to the chairman, and the meeting adjourned.

ANNEXATION ASSOCIATION OF MONTREAL.

The meeting for the election of officers was held on Thursday, in the Temperance Hall, St. Maurice street, and was occupied upwards of three hours in the ballot, and scrutinizing thereon.

Mr. Redpath was called to the chair by acclamation, and Mr. John Glass and Mr. A. A. Dorion named secretaries and scrutineers, who declared the result as follows:—

President:

John Redpath.

Vice-Presidents:

B. Holmes, Jacob de Witt, W. Workman,
L. H. Holton, T. B. Anderson, D. E. Papineau,
P. Drumgoole and John Donegani, Esqs.

Councillors:

D. Kinnear, H. Stephens, Wm. Molson,
John Rose, Jos. Papin, R. Laflamme,
John Bell and John Ostell, Esqs.

Treasurer:

David Torrance.

Secretaries:

Robert Mackay, A. A. Dorion, Esqs.

The secretaries then issued the following address, which speaks for itself, accompanied by a copy of the address to the People of Canada, which had now attached to it over 1,000 signatures.

CIRCULAR
of the
Committee of the Annexation Association
of Montreal.

Office of the Annexation Association, Montreal,

December 7, 1849.

The Montreal Annexation Association, desirous of urging upon the people of Canada the question of peaceable separation from Great Britain, and of annexation to the United States, have instructed us to forward to you a copy of the Address to the people of Canada, already published, together with other

documents showing the steps that have been taken by the Association in this city. They have done this in the hope that you are favourable to the cause for which this Association has been founded, and disposed to co-operate with them by exertion in your own neighbourhood. This might be done by the organization of similar Associations for counties, townships or parishes throughout Canada, or by other means which may suggest themselves to you as most suitable for your own locality.

We are directed at the same time to request from you any information which you may be disposed to communicate, and which may be of advantage to the cause, and to state that this Association will be happy to furnish you with similar information calculated to promote our mutual object, as it is important that regular communication should be kept up among the friends of the cause throughout the country.

R. Mackay, }
A. A. Dorion } *Secretaries.*

TO THE PEOPLE OF CANADA.

The number and magnitude of the evils which afflict our country, and the universal and increasing depression of its material interests, call upon all persons animated by a sincere desire for its welfare, to combine for the purpose of inquiry and preparation, with the view to the adoption of such remedies as a mature and dispassionate investigation may suggest.

Belonging to all parties, origins and creeds, but yet agreed upon the advantage of co-operation for the performance of a common duty to ourselves and our country, growing out of a common necessity, we have consented, in view of a brighter and happier future, to merge in oblivion all past differences of whatever character, or attributable to whatever source.

In appealing to our fellow Colonists to unite with us in this, our most needful duty, we solemnly conjure them, as they desire a successful issue and the welfare of their country, to enter upon the task at this momentous crisis in the same fraternal spirit.

The reversal of the ancient policy of Great Britain, whereby she withdraws from the Colonies their wonted protection in her markets, has produced the most disastrous effects upon Canada. In surveying the actual condition of the country, what but ruin or rapid decay meets the eye? Our Provincial Government and civic corporations embarrassed, our banking and other securities greatly depreciated, our mercantile and agricultural interests alike unprosperous, real estate scarcely saleable upon any terms, our unrivalled rivers, lakes and canals almost unused, whilst commerce abandons our shores, the circulating capital amassed under a more favourable system is dissipated, with none from any quarter to replace it. Thus, without available capital, unable to affect a loan with foreign States, or with the mother country, although offering security greatly superior to that which readily obtains money, both

for the United States and Great Britain, when other than the Colonials are the applicants—crippled, therefore, in the full career of private and public enterprise, this possession of the British Crown, our country, stands before the world in humiliating contrast with its immediate neighbours, exhibiting every symptom of a nation fast sinking to decay.

With superabundant water power and cheap labour, especially in Lower Canada, we have yet no domestic manufactures, nor can the most sanguine, unless under altered circumstances, anticipate the home growth or advent from foreign parts of either capital or enterprise to embark in this great source of national wealth. Our institutions, unhappily, have not that impress of permanence which can alone impart security and inspire confidence; and the Canadian market is too limited to tempt the foreign capitalist.

Whilst the adjoining States are covered with a network of thriving railways, Canada possesses but three lines, which, together, scarcely exceed fifty miles in length, and the stock in two of which is held at a depreciation of from fifty to eighty per cent.—a fatal symptom of the torpor overspreading the land.

Our present system of Provincial Government is cumbrous and too expensive, so as to be ill-suited to the circumstances of the country, and the necessary reference it demands to a distant government, imperfectly acquainted with Canadian affairs, and somewhat indifferent to our interests, is anomalous and irksome. Yet, in event of a rupture between two

of the most powerful nations of the world, Canada would become the battlefield and the sufferer, however little her interests might be involved in the cause of the quarrel, or the issue of the contest.

The bitter animosities of political parties and factions in Canada, after leading to violence, and, upon one occasion, to civil war, seem not to have abated with time, nor is there at the present moment any prospect of diminution or accommodation. The aspect of parties become daily more threatening towards each other, and under existing institutions and relations, little hope is discernible of a peaceable and prosperous administration of our affairs, but difficulties will, to all appearances, accumulate until government become impracticable.

In this view of our position, any course that may propose to efface existing party distinctions and place entirely new issues before the people must be fraught with undeniable advantages.

Among the statesmen of the mother country—among the sagacious observers of the neighbouring republic in Canada and in all British North America, amongst all classes there is a strong pervading conviction that a political revolution in this country is at hand. Such forbodings cannot readily be dispelled, and they have, moreover, a tendency to realize the events to which they point. In the meantime, serious injury results to Canada from the effects of this anticipation upon the more desirable class of settlers, who naturally prefer a country under fixed and permanent forms of government to one in a state of transition.

Having thus adverted to some of the causes of our present evils, we would consider how far the remedies ordinarily proposed possess sound and rational inducements to justify their adoption:

1. "The revival of protection in the markets of the United Kingdom."

This, if attainable in a sufficient degree, and guaranteed for a long period of years, would ameliorate the condition of many of our chief interests, but the policy of the Empire forbids the anticipations. Besides, it would be but a partial remedy. The millions of the mother country demand cheap food; and a second change from protection to free trade would complete the ruin which the first has done much to achieve.

2. "Protection to home manufactures.

Although this might encourage the growth of a manufacturing interest in Canada, yet, without access to the United States market, there would not be a sufficient expansion of that interest for the want of consumers to mark any result that could be admitted as a "remedy" for the numerous evils of which we complain.

3. "A Federal Union of the British American Provinces."

The advantages claimed for that arrangement are: free trade between the different Provinces and a diminished governmental expenditure. The attainment of the latter object would be problematical, and the benefits anticipated from the former might be secured by legislation under our existing system.

The markets of our sister Provinces would not benefit our trade in timber, for they have a surplus of that article in their own forests; and their demands for agricultural products would be too limited to absorb our means of supply, nor could Canada expect any encouragement to her manufacturing industry from these quarters. A Federal Union, therefore, would be no remedy.

4. "The independence of the British North American Colonies as a Federal Republic."

The consolidation of its new institutions from elements hitherto so discordant, the formation of treaties with foreign powers, the requirement of a name and character among the nations, would, we fear, prove an overmatch for the strength of the new republic. And having regard to the powerful confederacy of States conterminous with itself, the needful military defences would be too costly to render independence a boon, whilst it would not, any more than a federal union, remove those obstacles which retard our material prosperity.

5. "Reciprocal free trade with the United States as regards the products of the farm, the forest and the mine."

If obtained, this would be but an instalment of the many advantages which might be otherwise secured. The free interchange would not introduce manufactures to our country. It would not give us the North American continent for our market. It would neither so amend our institutions as to confer stability, nor ensure confidence in their permanence,

nor would it allay the violence of parties or in the slightest degree remedy many of our prominent evils.

6. "Of all the remedies that have been suggested for the acknowledged and insufferable ills with which our country is afflicted, there remains but one to be considered. It propounds a sweeping and important change in our political and social condition, involving considerations which demand our most serious examination."

The remedy consists of a friendly and peaceful separation from British connection and a union upon equitable terms with the Great North American Confederacy of Sovereign States.

We would premise that towards Great Britain we entertain none other than sentiments of kindness and respect. Without her consent we consider separation neither practical nor desirable; but the Colonial policy of the parent State, the avowals of her leading statesmen, the public sentiments of the Empire, present unmistakable and significant indications of the depreciation of colonial connection. That it is the resolve of England to invest us with the attributes and compel us to assume the burden of independence is no longer problematical. The threatened withdrawal of her troops from other Colonies, the continuance of her military protection to ourselves, only on the condition that we shall defray the attendant expenditure, betoken intention towards our country against which it is weakness in us not to provide. An overruling conviction then of its necessity, and a high sense of the duty we owe to our country, a

duty we can neither disregard or postpone, impels us to entertain the idea of separation; and whatever negotiations may eventuate with Great Britain, a grateful liberality on the part of Canada should mark every proceeding.

The proposed union would render Canada a field for American capital into which it would enter as freely for the prosecution of public works and private enterprise as into any of the present States. It would equalize the value of real estate upon both sides of the boundary, thereby probably doubling at once the entire present value of property in Canada, whilst, by giving stability to our institutions and introducing prosperity, it would raise our public corporate and private credit. It would increase our commerce, both with the United States and foreign countries, and would not necessarily diminish to any great extent our intercourse with Great Britain, into which our products would, for the most part, enter on the same terms as at present. It would render our rivers and canals the highway for the immigration to, and exports from, the West to the incalculable benefit of our country. It would also introduce manufactures into Canada as rapidly as they have been introduced into the Northern States; and to Lower Canada especially, where water privileges and labour are abundant and cheap, it would attract manufacturing capital, enhancing the value of property and agricultural produce, and giving remunerative employment to what is at present a comparatively non-producing population. Nor would the United States merely

furnish the capital for our manufactures. They would also supply for them the most exclusive market in the world, without the intervention of the custom house officer. Railways would forthwith be constructed by American capital as feeders for the great lines now approaching our frontier, and railway enterprise would doubtless be as attractive and prosperous among us as among our neighbours. The value of our agricultural implements, and many of the necessaries of life, such as tea, coffee and sugar, would be greatly reduced in price.

The value of our timber would also be greatly enhanced by free access to the American market, where it bears a high price, but is subject to an enormous duty. At the same time there is every reason to believe that our shipbuilders, as well as at Quebec as on the great lakes, would find an unlimited market in all the ports of the American Continent. It cannot be doubted that the shipping trade of the United States must greatly increase. It is equally manifest that with them the principal material in the construction of ships is rapidly diminishing, while we possess vast territories, covered with timber of excellent quality, which would be equally available as it is now, since under the free trade system our vessels would sell as well in England after annexation as before.

The simple and economical State Government, in which direct responsibility to the people is a distinguishing feature, would be substituted for a system at once cumbrous and expensive.

In place of war and the alarms of war with a neigh-

bour, there would be peace and amity between this country and the United States. Disagreements between the United States and her chief, if not only rival among nations, would not make the soil of Canada the sanguinary arena of their disputes, as, under our existing relations, must necessarily be the case. That such is the unenviable condition of our state of dependence upon Great Britain is known to the whole world, and how far it may conduce to keep prudent capitalists from making investments in the country, or wealthy settlers from selecting a foredoomed battlefield for the home of themselves and their children, it needs no reasoning on our part to elucidate.

But other advantages than those having a bearing on our material interests may be foretold. It would change the ground of political contest between races and parties, allay and obliterate those irritations and conflicts of rancour and recrimination which have hitherto disfigured our social fabric. Already, in anticipation, has its harmonious influence been felt—the harbinger, may it be hoped, of a lasting oblivion of dissension among all classes, creeds and parties in the country. Changing a subordinate for an independent condition, we would take our station among the nations of the earth. We have now no voice in the affairs of the Empire, nor do we share in its humours or emoluments. England is our parent State, with whom we have no equality, but towards whom we stand in the simple relation of obedience, but, as citizens of the United States, the public service of the

nation would be open to us—a field for high and honourable distinction, upon which we and our posterity might enter upon terms of perfect equality.

Nor would the amicable separation of Canada from Great Britain be fraught with advantages to us alone. The relief to the parent State from the large expenditure now incurred in the military occupation of the country—the removal of the many causes of collision with the United States which result from the contiguity of mutual territories so extensive—the benefit of the larger market which the increasing prosperity of Canada would create, are considerations which, in the minds of many of her ablest statesmen, render our incorporation with the United States a desirable consummation.

To the United States also, the annexation of Canada presents many important inducements. The withdrawal from her borders of so powerful a nation, by whom, in time of war, the immense and growing commerce of the lakes would be jeopardized—the ability to dispense with the costly but ineffectual revenue establishment over a frontier of many hundred miles—the large accession to their income from our customs, the unrestricted use of the St. Lawrence, the natural highway from the Western States to the ocean are objects for the attainment of which the most substantial equivalents would undoubtedly be conceded.

Fellow Colonists.

We have thus laid before you our views and convictions on a momentous question, involving a

change, which, though contemplated by many of us with varied feelings and emotions, we all believe to be inevitable; one which it is our duty to provide for and lawfully to promote.

We address you without prejudice or partiality, in the spirit of sincerity and truth in the interests solely of our common country, and our single aim is its safety and welfare. . .

If, in your judgment and reason, our object and aim be at this time deemed laudable and right, we ask an oblivion of the past dissensions, and from all without distinction of origin, party or creed, that earnest and cordial co-operation in such lawful, prudent and judicious means as may best conduct us to our common destiny.

Here follow the signatures:

Abbott, J. J. C.	Atwater, Edwin,
Anderson, T. B.	Atwater, N. W.
Alexander, Chas.	Allen, Wilson B.
Alexander, Geo.	Allen, John
Archbold, Henry	Allen, Wilson
Asselin, J.B.	Atchison, Jas.
Aumond, Joseph	Anderson, Peter
Allen, Robert	Adams, Robt.
Ashley, Geo.	Adams, Geo.
Auger, E.	Adams, J.
Archambault, Alex.	Arconet, E.
Aspinall, Robt.	Abill, C. C.
Airde, Geo.	Atkinson, Jno.

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| Austin, W. S. | Barrett, J. T. |
| Bonacina, J. M. | Bryson, T. J. |
| Bethune, John | Berry, Wm. |
| Brazeau, F. Y. | Blackwood, R. |
| Beaudry, J. L. | Barry, John |
| Barsalou, Joseph | Bergin, Wm. |
| Bernard, F. R. | Burns, Michl. |
| Bissailon, N. | Bockus, Chas. |
| Betournay, N. | Brewster, Benj. |
| Bell, Thos. | Bagg, Stanley |
| Browne, P. D. | Bagg, Abner |
| Bills, Arch. | Bryson, Alex. |
| Boan, M. | Bryson, T. M. |
| Bridges, John | Bell, John |
| Boon, Wm. | Beers, Jas. C. |
| Booth, Richd. | Brooks, Wm. |
| Bain, William | Barnard, Jas. |
| Beattie, Wm. | Boyd, John |
| Bonner, John | Browne, Geo. |
| Bowerbank, Thos. | Birss, I. H. |
| Bourdon, Chas. | Bent, Geo. |
| Bracken, Jas. | Bohl, H. S. |
| Bibaud, J. B., M. D. | Brown, John |
| Bertrand, Chas. | Burroughs, A. |
| Blanchet, P. | Barley, Wm. |
| Berubé, L. J. | Bryson, Edmond |
| Berubé, A. | Brodie, Fras. |
| Brown, Jas. | Bude, Jas. |
| Bulmer, H. | Bude, Nicolas |
| Badeaux, P. B. | Butler, Jas. |
| Buck, Marshall A. | Bernard, J. |

Baylis, Jas.	Crayk, Jas.
Busseau, H.	Clark, J. P.
Boyer, Louis	Campbell, Robt.
Bruneau, —	Craig, Hugh
Blanchard, Louis	Chalmers, Robt.
Brush, Geo.	Chalmers, Chas.
Buck, M.	Carter, Edward
Benny, Jas.	Collette, Michel
Brewster, Hy.	Collette, Thos.
Babcock, M.	Cassidy, John
Butters, J.	Cusson, Alexis
Benjamin, Saml.	Carleton, Henry
Benjamin, Goodman	Cook, A.
Beleveau, L. J.	Cushing, J.
Bourne, A.	Cushing, L.
Benson, H. E.	Cooper, P.
Baird, E.	Cruikshank, A.
Borbridge, Thos.	Chagnon dit Larose, —
Borbridge, Wm.	Cinq-Mars, C. N.
Blanchard, Jerm.	Cinq-Mars, P. M. M.
Brennan, Patrick	Cousolles, Joseph
Bayle, John	Collin, D.
Blair, Jas.	Couillard, J. B. A.
Bertram, Alex.	Cowell, J.F.
Binmore, Geo.	Cross, Robt.
Binmoré, John	Clark, Z. B.
Brodie, John	Campbell, Chas.
Corse, R.	Clancey, John
Corse, R. B.	Charles, James
Chapman, Henry	Charles, John
Carter, John	Charles, Walter

Charles, Simon McT.	Cunigan, Jos.
Clare, W. H.	Cunigan, Robt. B.
Converse, John A.	Campbell, Jno.
Castle, G.	Cane, Patrick
Clarke, Wm.	Conroy, Owen
Craig, Hugh	Cooper, Wm.
Chedwick, John	Clark, James
Cowan, Wm.	Carey, Danl.
Cowan, Hugh	Chester, John
Cowan, David	Cole, Thos.
Carson, Robt.	Chapple, Alf.
Clark, H. N.	Cousens, Wm.
Clark, Joseph	Crawford, W. N.
Courtney, W. V.	Cathies, Jno.
Congrave, John	Childs, Geo.
Cadotte, T.	Chisholm, H.
Cadotte, A.	Cauthers, Saml.
Collerette, P. N.	Cauthers, John
Courtney, W. B.	Carman, John
Cajetan, L.	Curran, James
Coderre, J. E., M.D.	Caroll, Jas.
Coursolle, Joseph	Caroll, John
Campbell, John L.	Cutter, Geo.
Cheeseman, Wm.	Dewitt, Jacob, M. P.
Cousens, W.	De Breesy, Sabrevois
Connor, John	Dease, Peter W.
Connor, Michl.	Dease, Chas.
Clifford, Patrick	Duclos, Fras.
Cavanagh, Jno.	Dier, Wm.
Clark, Geo.	Donnelly, C.
Colgan, Jas.	De Witt, J. H.

Duffield, Geo.	Daniel, W. S.
Doan, T. C.	Dow, Wm.
Desmarteau, E. B.	Duncan, John
Dupont, Dom.	Dobson, Wm.
Dubord, A.	Donovan, Danl.
Dansereau, C.	Dunlop, Wm.
De Montigny, Jas.	Dunlop, John
De Montigny, Jean	Drake, Robt.
De Montigny, F. X.	Dunn, James
Derome, A. D.,	Donohue, Martin
Doherty, Chas.	Davis, Moses
Doherty, John	Dedman, Thos.
Dorwin, C.	Doherty, Jas.
Davy, S. H.	Donnelly, John
Douglas, Jas.	Deery, Henry
Davis, Nelson	Donegani, John
Dunn Peter	Dalton, James
Dumgoole, P.	Dorten, John
Dufort, E. B.	Dunbar, Jas.
Delorme, E. Lemay	Day, John O.
Dagg, —	Esdale, Robt.
Donohue, T.	Esdale, J.
Dorion, W. P. V.	Egar, J.
Dorion, A. A.	Evans, J. H.
Dorion, J. B. E.	Evans, W. C.
Desmarais, A., N.P.	Escalome, J.
Dufresne, A.	Easton, W.
Doré, F.	Ennis, Thos.
Dubord, Antoine	Eager, D. W.
Dubord, J.	Eager, W. L.
Daniel, P. S.	Easton, George

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| Eckart, Isaac R. | Fournier, J. M. |
| English, M. | Fournier, S. |
| Elliott, Andrew | Finny, Michl. |
| English, Saml. | Feron, John |
| Frothingham, John | Fairon, Arthur |
| Forsythe, Thos. | Faron, Martin |
| Fisher, John | Glass, John |
| Ferrier, Jas., jun. | Gemmill, Wm. |
| Ferrier, G. D. | Green, T. J. |
| Fuller, Rinaldo | Groves, Geo. |
| Froste, Robt. | Gnaeuinger, Louis |
| Farewell, A. (Oshawa) | Geddes, Chas. |
| Franchere, J. B. | Gunn, Wm. |
| Fresiault, H. A. | Gregory, S. E. |
| Forbes, John | Green, E. R. |
| Fitz, C. | Gadbois, J. B. |
| Foster, Thos. | Gibson, T. E. |
| Franklin, L. | Grant, John |
| Flynn, F. | Gunn, James |
| Flynn, Jas. | Gravel, Jos. |
| Flynn, Edward | Gagnon, J. A. |
| Fellers, Geo. | Gariepy, A. |
| Ferguson, David | Gadebois, J. B. |
| Ferguson, Arch. | Griffard, Chas. |
| Frost, Norman S. | Gagnon, E. |
| Fleck, Alex. | Gillerd, Jas. |
| Farrell, D. | Gilmour, John |
| Foley, Michl. | Gardner, Jno. |
| Fortier, L. | Gleeson Michael |
| Footner, W. | Gowan, Edward |
| Fournier, M. A. | Gordon, James |

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| Gordon, John | Hall, Geo. |
| Graham, Robt. | Hall, T. D. |
| Gallagher, C. | Hall, Jos. N. |
| Greene, N. S. | Hart, Theodore |
| Gordon, Thos. | Haldimand, W. L. |
| Germain, J. B. | Hagar, Geo. |
| Guildry, Jules | Hagar, Chas. |
| Grant, J. | Howard, Irvine |
| Gilbert, E. E. | Hauselman, E. |
| Graham, Jas. | Huston, C. W. |
| Grant, John | Healy, Christopher |
| Glassford, H. A. | Hall, F. T. |
| Greig, John | Haldane, Jas. |
| Guimond, Ant. | Hays, Andrew |
| Germain, J. B. | Holland, Geo. A. |
| Gauthier, L. | Hutchins, B. |
| Geroux, Jos. R. | Hutchins, Jas. R. |
| Glen, Crawford | Howell, Ed. |
| Glen, David | Hudson, Pierre |
| Greig, John | Hibbard, Ashley |
| Giard, A. | Hilton, John F. |
| Gall, Wm. | Hilton, John |
| Gray, Geo. | Hurst, Wm. |
| Holton L. H. | Hudson, Richard |
| Holmes, Benj. | Hacket, Thos. |
| Holmes, W. J. | Harrington, Wm. |
| Hart, Benj. | Harkin, H. |
| Henderson, John | Habin, Patrick |
| Hutchison, Wm. | Harrison, J. W. |
| Hutton, Jas. | Hazen, J. J. |
| Harvey, Jas. | Harvey, S. |

Hagarty, P.	King, Waddle
Henderson, John	Kerns, Dan.
Henderson, James	Kennedy, Danl.
Hannon, John	Kreagen, Jas.
Hamulty, Lawrence	Kerfoot, Thos.
Hannon, Patrick	Kiernan, Wm.
Hutchinson, John	Kerr, John
Hay, James	Kirkup, Jos.
Haliday, James	Kadwell, Chas.
Innes, R. W.	Kilpatrick, Wm.
Irwin, Jas.	Kennedy, W.
Inglis, James	Keller, John
Irvine, John	Knowlan, M.
Ireland, H. W.	Kilgour, Jos.
Johnson, F. G., Q.C.	Kelly, John
Jones, Sydney	Kelly, Michl.
Jones, Thomas	Kean, Bernard
Jones, R. (Cobourg)	Kinnear, David
Jones, Hon. R.	Knapp, Joseph
Jones, W. W.	Kreighoff, C.
Jacques, G. E.	Kain, John
Julien, J. B., sen.	Kay, John
Julien, J. B., jun.	Kay, Thos.
James, Thos.	Lyman, Theodore
Knowlton, P. H.	Lyman, Benj.
Kelly, Michl.	Lyman, Henry
Kelly, C. M.	Lyman, S. Jones
Kelly, John	Levinscourt, A. King
Kearney, Matthew	Leeming, John
Keenan, John	Loughy, John
King, James	Lee, Joseph

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| Lalarme, E. D. | Laflamme, L. A. G. |
| Lusignan, Alfred | Laflamme, R. |
| Long, John | Lazure, Louis |
| Linton, Sam. | Lapierre, A. |
| Lamontagne, L. J. | Lamontagne, H. |
| Lindsay, Chas. | Lamontagne, Chas. |
| Latham, R. | Lamontagne, L. J. |
| Leitch, Angus | Lamontagne, C. H. |
| Locke, Forest | Laberge, Chas. |
| Lamoureux, Frs. | Lafontaine, L. |
| Laverdure, M. | Labeau, N. M. |
| Lachapelle, P. | Lamoureux, Nap. |
| Lawley, Wm. | Laramie, S. |
| Lewis, James | Longpré, Louis J. |
| Lewis, David | Leclair, Jean |
| Lefebvre, Chas. | Leclair, Isidore, |
| Larue, Pierre | Leclair, C. I. J. |
| Lepage, Germain | Lapaillier, N. |
| Lemyre, Maxime | Lavers, Wm. |
| Lesperance, A. | Lothian, Adam |
| Letourneux, T. | Lyon, John |
| Le Sueur, P. | Levey, John |
| Larkin, P. | Leprohon, J. L., M.D. |
| Logan, Jas. | Larkin, Patrick |
| Lamb, J. H. | Landreau, Henry |
| Lavis, J. A. | Lancelot, M. |
| Lavis, Jos. | Lenoir, J. |
| Lessard, Pierre | Lambert, Louis |
| Lepage, Oliver | Lemay, Louis |
| Ludlam, W. | Lavoie, Gilbert |
| Letamore, John | Lavigne, Thos. |

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| Lamothe, J. M. | McFarlane, Andrew |
| Longpré Louis J. | Mulholland, H. |
| Letourneux, C. | Mahony, J. |
| Lappare, H., N.P. | Martin, P. P. |
| Lappare, Wilbrod | Martin, S. |
| Labadie, J. E. O. | Morland, Thos. |
| Labadie, Adolphe | Moniland, Thos. |
| Labadie, Edmond | McCormick, Thos. |
| Leslie, R. W. | McPherson, D. L. |
| Lavery, Jas. | Mackenzie, J. G. |
| Lyle, Walter | Mathewson, John |
| Low, John | McGillis, John |
| Molson, John | McDougall, Wm. |
| Molson, Wm. | Morton, Robt. |
| Molson, Geo. E. | Morton, Geo. |
| Mackay, Robt. | Mullins, Fras. |
| Murray, William | McCoy, John |
| McDonell, Allan | McDonald, Norman |
| Muir, William | McDonald, Wm. |
| Monk, John | McDonald, Alex. |
| MacDougall, D. L. | McDonald, John |
| Maitland, Edw. | Mills, Robt. |
| McCulloch, M., M.D. | Milligan, D. |
| McFarlane, Walter | Miller, T. |
| Murphy, Edward | McBean, Wm. |
| Murphy, P. | Mayo, Chas. |
| Murphy, Alex. | Maxwell, Edw. |
| Murphy, John P. | Maxwell, James |
| Murphy, A. A. | Morison, Jas. |
| Murphy, P. A. | McCuaig, S. S. |
| McFarlane, Arch. | Mathewson, Saml. |

McIntosh, Neil	McCrow, John
McArthur, John	Merry, W. A.
Muir, Ebenezer	Mills, E. Lyman
Muir, James	Mills, Ciphaz
McDonel, M.	Moody, Wm.
McLean, John	Machrie, G.
McGinnis, J.	Moore, Jas.
McGinnis, W.	McLaughlin, Jas.
Miller, W. M.	McQueen, Danl.
McNally, Wm.	Moss, David
McDonell, A.	McGill, John
Moss, E.	McGoun, Arch.
McNamee, Francis	McArthur, Wm.
McKay, R. W. S.	Magill, Jer.
McKay, F. S. (N.P.)	Miller, A.
McKay, Geo.	Muir, Jas.
Mann, And.	Muir, David
Mann, David	Moody, John
Mathews, Thos.	McDonell, Fras.
McCrib, Peter	McMillan, Miles
Mack, Robt.	Mousseau, A.
Mack, Saml.	Malhoit, J. E.
McKeon, John	Merrill, C. H.
Moir, And.	MacDonell, Rich.
Moir, James	Mitchell, Joseph
McLaughlin, Jno.	Macdonald, Jas.
McLaughlin, Jas.	Maher, Pat.
McLaughlin, Ed.	McCallum, D., M.D.
Michon, L.	McCallum, John
Magnan, A.	McCallum, D.
Mathews, G.	McBean, A. S.

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| Morrison, John | Miller, A. |
| McGinnis, W. | McIntire, N. G. |
| McKerracher, Geo. | Mathewson, J. Adam |
| McIntosh, Niel. | Mansfield, Edw. |
| Macaise, L. C. | McIntosh, Angus |
| Magill, W. | McIntosh, Robt. |
| Murphy, John | McGrath, Geo. |
| Murphy, Jer. | McGrath, Thos. |
| Murphy, Mich. | Maley, Patrick |
| Murphy, P. | McDonald, John |
| Murphy, Wm. | McKinlay, Wm. |
| Madden, J. J. | McKay, G. L. |
| Meagher, John | McShane, James |
| Murray, Ed. | McShane, Peter |
| Mechan, Mich. | McIver, Geo. |
| McClary, Wm. | McWaters, John, jun. |
| McGovern, L. | Murray, Patrick |
| Mollowney, Jno. | Mathews, Wm. |
| Madden, D. | Midgley, Chas. |
| Miller, A. S. | Murphy, Danl. |
| Meighan, M. | Neigle, Thos. |
| Mooney, John | Noel, David |
| McMillen, Hugh | Nicholson, Robt. |
| McMillen, D. | Nolan, Wm. |
| Muckle, Chas. F. | Nolan, John |
| Mitchell, John | Nugent, Pat. |
| Mitchell, Robt. | Noshen, I. |
| McDougall, Geo. | Odell, Loup. |
| McGregor, Alex. | Ostell, John |
| Mead, Jos. H. | Orr, Jas. R. |
| Munro, Hector | Orr, John |

O'Mara, John	Papineau, C. E., N. P.
Ollier, D.	Papineau, A. C.
O'Keefe, M.	Prentis, Thos. B.
O'Keefe, John	Poet, Jos.
O'Hara, Domk.	Power, John
O'Rielly, Thos.	Power, N.
O'Herrie, Jas.	Pierce, John
O'Meara, Jno.	Proctor, Chas. D.
Owen, H.	Paton, David
Ollendorff, M.	Price, Jos. C.
O'Connor, Danl.	Perkins, J. A.
O'Connor, John	Patton, James
O'Connor, Edw.	Patton, Thomas
O'Brien, Timothy	Poirier, N.
Pierce, Jason, C.	Poutre, P. B.
Pierce, Wilder	Paton, T. C.
Phillips, Chas.	Pollock, Alex.
Peck, Thos.	Pepper, Thos.
Perry, G. (Cobourg)	Pleau, Isaie
Patterson, James	Papin, J.
Philbin, Rich.	Pellant, Alexander
Potts, James	Pominville, F.
Potts, Jos.	Pease, Orton
Peacock, Hen.	Peel, Thomas
Prentice, Wm.	Pennie, Robert
Papineau, P. G.	Penny, Ed. Goff
Pelletier, Roch	Patton, And.
Prevost, André	Price, Martin
Poulin, S.	Park, Wm.
Plinguet, Jas. A.	Parker, Jas.
Papineau, D. E., N.P.	Parker, Wm.

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| Quevirion, C. | Rogers, Geo. |
| Quain, John | Rogers, John |
| Redpath, John | Ryan, Martin |
| Redpath, Peter | Rocre, Maxime |
| Rose, John | Rodden, Wm. |
| Routh, H. L. | Rae, David |
| Robinson, Rich. | Rollin, Janvier |
| Rivet, Edouard | Ronne, Danl. B. |
| Roy, Adolphe | Ramsay, Alex. |
| Regnie, A. | Reinhardt, Geo. |
| Rice, Wm. | Reinhardt, G. |
| Ruston, Robins | Robertson, Wm. |
| Robinson, James | Sadlier, James |
| Roy, E. | Sadlier, James |
| Ryan, Joseph | Shaw, Noah |
| Rafter, Thos. | Seymour, Chas. |
| Reeves, A. D. | Seymour, C. E. |
| Ready, W. W. | Seymour, M. H. |
| Ryan, Michel | Seymour, R. E. |
| Ryan, John | Seymour, H. |
| Redhead, Thos. | Sinclair, John |
| Ryan, Joseph | Stephen Wm. |
| Ryan, Jeremiah | Smith, Ferdinand |
| Ryan, Nicholas | Smith, Wm. |
| Ryan, John | Stethem, W. G. |
| Ryan, Daniel | Sullivan, P. O. |
| Ross, Donald | Souvrier, C. S. |
| Ramsay, A. | Scott, G. |
| Ramsay, M. | Sanders, Jno. S. |
| Rolland, G. L. | Sparkes, Geo. |
| Robertson, R. F. | Scears, B. A. |

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|--------------------|-----------------|
| St. Martel, Honoré | Sparks, Geo. |
| St. Jean, Fleury | Seaver, W. R. |
| Sauvageau, Z. | Stephens H. |
| Sincennes; J. R. | Seary, James |
| Savage, Joseph | Sanders, John |
| Sutherland, — | Stacy, Geo. |
| Shaw, C. D. | Sims, Thos. |
| Stevenson, Adam | Stevenson, And. |
| Springle, J. H. | Stevenson, J. |
| Savage, Alfred | Shaw, Lawrence |
| Sproston, John | Smith, Henry |
| Stewart, Dugald | Sanderson, E. |
| Shipway, J. G. | Sargisan, Jos. |
| Scott, Jas. | Scott, W. R. |
| Scott, Jas. jun. | Smith, W. P. |
| Slack, J. | Sheney, Richd. |
| Sculthorp, James | Shelly, Thos. |
| Scott, Walter | Sharpe, Edmd. |
| Siméon, Louis | Stewart, James |
| Surgeon, Danl. | Torrance, Jas. |
| Syms, Hugh | Torrance, John |
| Syms, John | Torrance, David |
| Shepherd, Wm. | Torrance, J. W. |
| Smith, Wm. | Tully, John |
| Smith, J. B. | Tobin, John M. |
| Smith, H. B. | Taylor, Hugh |
| Skimmings, S. | Torry, J. B. |
| St. Germaine, D'U. | Trudeau, Rom. |
| Sharpley, Rice | Trudeau, Joseph |
| Swords, P. | Tuttle, E. C. |
| Sloan, Thos. C. | Thomson, J. |

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| Tellier, A. | Viger, J. Labreche |
| Tellier, J. B. E. | Vandal, H. |
| Templeton, Thos. | Vanbuskirk, Geo. |
| Taylor, Jas. | Venables, Joseph |
| Taylor, George | Vincent, Jas. |
| Taylor, Homer | Vennor, H. |
| Taylor, John | Voligny, Louis |
| Thompson, Jas. | Way, Ed. |
| (Laprairie) | Wheeler, Geo. H. |
| Thompson, Hugh | Ward, Jas. H. |
| Taylor, E. T. | Watson, Geo. |
| Taylor, James | Watson, Wm. |
| (St. Armand) | Williams, Chas. |
| Taylor, J. W. | Wray, H. |
| Taylor, Thos. M. | Wilkins, Chas. |
| Todd, Wm. | Warren, Jas. |
| Terroux, J. H. | Winaman, Jas. |
| Tucker, Thos. | Wilson, Samuel |
| Thompson, John | Wilson, Thomas |
| Thompson, J. L. | Warren, Geo. P. |
| Thorn, W. | Walker, Wm. |
| Turner, Thos. | Welsh, John |
| Tabb, W. R. | Wishart, Robt. |
| Tabb, Horatio N. | Warner, Ed. A. |
| Thayer, Jesse | Warner, Robt. |
| Tilton, S. P. | Wardley, Sam. |
| Tougeau, Geo. | Wardley, A. |
| Urquart, Alex. | Wright, Joseph |
| Vennor, A. | Wright, Robt. |
| Visenor, Jerry | Whitelaw, Jas. |
| Vass, David | Wamsley, W. |

Windsor, Chas.	Warren, Francis
Wooly, James	Warren, Chas.
Wallace, James	Woodside, Thos.
Wickens, James	Wallace, Alex.
Waldie, James	Williamson, John
Waldie, John	Weeks, Geo.
Wood, Robt.	Ward, Joseph
Weir, Wm.	Whitney, H. H.
Warnock, Hugh	Whitney, N. S.
White, Constant	Wilson, Andrew
Welsh, James	Wright, Geo.
Workman, Wm.	Wright, John
Workman, Ben.	Watson, Wm.
Workman, Thos.	White, John
Whitty, Thos.	Wrigley, W.
Whitty, Philip	Yule, John, jun.
Whitty, Wm.	Yeoman, Thos.
Whitty, John	Young, David
Warren, D. H.	

CHAPTER X.

THE PHILIPPIC OF BRITANNICUS* AND LIBERAL PROTESTS.

A counter Manifesto, signed by "Britannicus," and dated at Niagara, 29th October, 1849, was issued, and attracted general attention. It was widely circulated by the friends of the Government, and, no doubt, did much to arrest the progress of the annexation mania, for the movement had assumed that appearance—even the staid *Montreal Witness* joining in the cry, till brought to book by Malcolm Cameron, one of its early temperance supporters. Aside from its bitter language, the Manifesto is as true to-day as it was fifty-three years ago, and may be read with profit by any one having a longing for the flesh-pots of Egypt. Below is the principal portion of Britannicus's letter:—

"ANNEXATIONISTS OF MONTREAL."

"Your long threatened Manifesto is at last issued to the people of Canada, and, following your example (in this only), I take the liberty of addressing you with boldness equal to your own; and, with God's help and a better cause, I trust to arraign you before my judging countrymen, to prove your falsehood, malignancy and treachery, and convict you before

*"Britannicus," the author of this phillippic, was the now well-known Wm. Kirby, F.R.S.C., author of "Le Chien d'Or." and is still living.

heaven and earth as the most reckless, causeless, unreasoning and selfish batch of revolutionists that ever disgraced the calendar of political crime.***** Not since the rebellion of Korah and Abiram and their two hundred and fifty adherents, your antitypes, both in number and wickedness, has the world beheld a peaceable and happy community threatened with civil war for redress of grievances purely imaginary, or for the acquisition of benefits so clearly inferior to those already in possession.*****As the traveller beholds the mirage of the desert, and fancies he sees at a distance green fields and bright waters, which, as he approaches, change into dreary realities of rock and sand, so shall we discover the equally false and delusive pictures of your *Californian Manifesto*."

Having got all this bile and considerable more off his stomach, "Britannicus" proceeds:—

"But I am thankful that it is in my power to lay aside the nobler weapons of moral argument and belabour you to your content with the common cudgel that best befits your desserts and understandings. And, first, I would observe that your Manifesto is built on such obviously false foundations that argument is most ridiculous on the subject. The very keystone of your whole fabric consists of one huge palpable and unmitigated lie. You assert that the Province is in a state of 'ruin and decay, our civil corporations, banks, etc., greatly depreciated, mercantile and agricultural business unprosperous, canals unused, and capital dissipated,' with more of 'horrible and awful' than I have patience to enumerate.

“What shall we say in Western Canada, at least, to such unblushing falsehood—the very father of lies himself must have become incarnate in Montreal, and the very drivellings of idiocy have possessed her people, if they really circulate among themselves for sterling coin such *bogus* statements.

“Truly, if those political shopkeepers have been no more honest in their dealings than they are in their statements, we need not *wonder* at *their* embarrassments. But when they saddle the free trade policy of England with the sole blame of all this imaginary distress, we can easily see that its imaginary existence and cause are alike unfounded and maliciously imputed. That there is great embarrassment in Montreal is no matter of doubt, but it is confined nearly to Montreal alone, and what is the real and obvious truth regarding her? While all must confess that the political state of the city since last winter has deeply aggravated the derangement of commercial affairs, we shall find a simple explanation of her retrograde position from causes quite independent of either free trade policy, riots or burnings.

“Montreal, until the last two or three years, was always the entrepot of Canadian trade, whether for imports or exports. Improved public works in the States, our own unwise abolition of differential duties, and the operation of the American drawback law, have carried by far the greater portion of Western Canada's business to New York or Boston, while the uninterrupted navigation of the St. Lawrence is giving her merely a passing view of the loads of

freight which used to be landed on her wharves. The consequence is, that Montreal is left nearly to her own resources, and, instead of being the great port of a country, she is dwindling into the mere market town of a district. This fact alone, unalluded to by the mendacious concocters of the Manifesto, though well known to them, will account for, at least, three-fifths of the diminution of her former trade—let her riots and burnings answer for the rest. But Montreal is no criterion of the Province, either politically, socially, or morally—God forbid. And since her Manifesto is intended to suit her own atmosphere, let us apply the measuring-rod of annexation to her warehouses, and note the result.

“Is it not plain that in case of incorporation with the States, almost the entire trade of Western Canada would be drawn to New York? The abolition of Customs and Navigation Laws, the removal of that patriotism which induces many to cling to their own side in their dealings, and the abrogation of opposing jurisdictions, would cement an intercourse, against which Montreal would contend in vain.*****It is American competition, already commenced, that is ruining Montreal. The incidental withdrawal of protection, no doubt, aggravated the difficulty. But this alone, without concurrent causes, would have been felt but for a season, and its embarrassments soon surmounted by the elastic energy and industry of a country like ours; and, in fact, the crisis is already past, in proof of which let us leave Montreal and her peculiar position out of view, and note what is the

present condition of Western Canada. While I admit that a few small places, from local circumstances, do not improve as fast as could be desired, what do we find to be the general result? The most recent index we have on this subject are the addresses from men of all parties, presented to the Governor-General on his late tour, occasions in which men are never backward to complain regarding their pecuniary interests. And what do they say about the 'ruinous condition' of the Province? Many of them make no allusion whatever to the subject; none, I believe, utter a complaint. Toronto congratulates His Excellency that the crisis is over, and hails the present abundant harvest as the final step which is to raise her to her old level of prosperity. Hamilton actually boasts of her thriving condition, and assures us that she has felt nothing at all of the late derangements of commerce, while many of the rural addresses express their gratification at the prosperous, happy and contented condition of the people at large. Such are the declarations Western Canada makes at the present moment. Nor need we be surprised at such sentiments. Count up our census for the last ten years; has population in any part of the world increased at an equal ratio? Not a State in the American Union can show a more rapid increase in agricultural wealth. Examine our schools, little inferior to the vaunted institutions of Massachusetts or Connecticut, fully equal to those of New York and Ohio, and superior to what any other part of the States can show, while under the superintendence of a man, whose genius and industry are

admired both in Europe and America.*****But as to the ground of your complaint, no one knows better than yourselves that our present difficulties have arisen among ourselves, through the operation of responsible Government, and from England's desire that we should manage our own affairs with as little reference to her as possible, consistent with our duty as good subjects. And this indulgent desire on her part you make the ground of the most flagrant and wicked statement in your whole address. That is, that the Government of Britain, her statesmen and people, are resolved to force independence upon us, to get rid of the trouble and expense of keeping us.*****If the British Government, by word or deed, ever insinuated such a design, you might be excused; if political history, since the beginning of the world, ever records such a thing as a great country voluntarily stripping herself of a third of her richest possessions, and quietly descending from the foremost into the second rank among nations, you might find believers; but when all foresee that the abdication of her authority would be but to bestow it upon her most jealous rival, a rival which regards her with the most unceasing, malignant and irreconcilable hatred, one who watches with diabolical eagerness every moment of her difficulties, to press exaggerated claims, with all the insult that malice can invent and vituperation utter, and whose chief desire in annexing our Province is to obtain the strength and courage through our aid to begin that war of extermination against our kind old mother country, which is the deep and pervading

aspiration of a great portion of the American people.

As to the summary and flippant manner in which you dispose of 'protection' 'Union of the Provinces,' 'independence' and 'reciprocity,' of course, since you have embarked in the piratical galley of annexation, they need not be discussed between us.*****But I proceed. You say annexation will equalize the value of real estate—so it would, but do you take us for fools? Real estate is now worth more on an average in Canada than in the States, and I aver, and can prove it, that farming property is held at higher rates with us than land similarly eligible in New York State.*****You aver that annexation would give us stability, and raise our credit; if acting the part of the most flagrant, moral and political dishonesty would raise our credit, you may be right. If joining partnership with repudiation, and corporate and State fraud would give confidence to capitalists abroad, your case is proved.*****You talk of American capital and enterprise; America has not enough for her own works; and what is American enterprise? A fever fit of overtrading and speculation with paroxysms of periodical ruin every four of five years.*****As to our manufactures, sprung into existence under a judicious tariff, what will become of them under annexation?—and against whom is protection most necessary to encourage and foster our manufactures? It is not by a 'high tariff' against England that they will be saved; for England hardly competes at all with the plain domestic fabrics of our artisans, but it is American competition we have to

fear. Manufacturing precisely the same articles as we do, in greater abundance, and at cheaper rates, by means of their larger establishments.*****Abolish our protection and they will overwhelm us. Miserable schemers of Montreal ! While you are dreaming of turning the French *habitants* into a nation of cotton spinners, American manufacturers will suck the very life out of your country and leave you to ruminate at your leisure on the words and garbage of republican fraternity. You think annexation will bring manufacturing capitalists into the Province; *it will take them out of it*. Under our present system many do come in and carry on their business here in order to avoid the duties. Take off the duties and they will return home, where they can manufacture cheaper and send us their goods instead of their establishments." "Britannicus" continues:—"A thousandth part of the exertions necessary to effect annexation will open to our people the free and equal *entre* to the very sanctuary of British power and authority. The signs of the times already prognosticate that the voice of represented Canada will, ere long, resound in the Imperial Parliament, and the most honourable offices, the richest emoluments, and the noblest dignities in the universe, be offered to the free competition of our people.*****While the unhappy States, cloven asunder by the hatchet of *slavery*, and enduring all the gory of civil dissension and anarchy, will crave annexation to us, to escape those awful calamities, which, sooner or later, the retribution of God brings upon all nations which persist in perpetuating the bondage of his

fellow creature.*****But what are your prospects of success? Your very citadel, Montreal, is divided; your party in the Eastern townships will be hamstrung at home by the faithful and true men along the borders. Western Canada is almost wholly opposed to you, and, lastly, the power of England is able to crush you to atoms, were every man in Lower Canada an annexationist. But you hope to win the sympathy of the French population—and are already intriguing with the great coward of St. Denis, and boasting of your alliance with the excommunicated infidels of the *Avenir*, and the red socialists of the school of Ledru, Rollin and Louis Blanc. And who are they? An infinitely small section of Canadians, loathed and execrated by their countrymen, while the really brave and influential leaders of the *habitants*, Nelson, Lafontaine, Taché and Marchasseau, are in the ranks of your opponents.*****The fact is admitted that prices range higher at the present moment in the American markets than in ours—and why?—and will this continue? We can only judge of the future by the past; and taking the past for our criterion, we learn that until a couple of years ago Canadian produce always commanded higher rates than American, so much so that our farmers demanded and obtained a pretty heavy protection against the latter. The change has arisen from the sudden opening of British ports to the free admission of foreign grain, assisted by the famine in Ireland. To meet this demand the Americans had no great supply, but being, like ourselves, needy of money, they totally drained their own

markets to meet the English demand, until at one time their products actually sold in Liverpool for less than they were selling in New York. The consequence was they experienced a scarcity at home, which, for the moment, has raised prices above those of Canada, and this has been increased by poor crops in the Western States—but prices will soon adjust themselves, and we shall, no doubt, soon see both countries on an equality in this matter.”

After pointing out how our local taxes would be increased when the import duties were carried off to Washington, *Britannicus* concludes:—“ But you will not suffer yourselves to be undeceived till too late; your mania is incurable; you are mostly Scotchmen, and will understand me when I tell you you are *fey*; a change so violent and sudden as you have undergone cannot but prognosticate your speedy destruction, as you rush blind-mad upon the fate predestined for you.

Niagara, October 29, 1849.

BRITANNICUS.”

This was indeed a strong address, but much weakened by its declamatory style, much of which I have left out. The statement that the annexationists were mostly Scotchmen is incorrect. True, the president was a Scotchman, but not one of the eight vice-presidents, and only two of the eight councillors were of that nationality. *Britannicus* was altogether wrong in treating the signers of the Annexation Manifesto as revolutionists. They were, with few exceptions, the solid business men of Montreal, and their

action opened the eyes of English statesmen to the fact that the chief city of British America held *loyalty* to their families and to their country above *loyalty* to their Queen, and put to silence those in England, who favoured separating Canada from the mother country.

The Annexation Manifesto, which had been issued with some three or four hundred signatures shortly after the meeting of the *British League*, brought forth other protests; one from the Liberal members of Parliament then in Montreal being as follows:—

“ We the undersigned members of the Provincial Legislature, residing in the city of Montreal and its vicinity, have read, with astonishment and regret, a certain Address to the People of Canada, recently published by divers persons, with the avowed intention of exciting in the midst of our population a movement in favour of the separation of this Province from Great Britain, and of its annexation to the United States of America.

“ Sincerely attached to the institutions which the mother country has acknowledged, and convinced that those institutions suffice, through a system of wise and judicious legislation, to secure prompt and efficient remedies for all the evils which this Province can complain of, we consider ourselves urgently bound to protest publicly and solemnly against the opinions enunciated in that document.

“ We deem it our duty at the same time, and without awaiting the concurrence of the other members of the Legislature, upon the approval of whom, with few exceptions, we may, however, confidently rely to

appeal to the wisdom, the love of order and the honour of the inhabitants of this country, and to call upon those to oppose, by every means in their power, an agitation tending to subvert a Constitution, which, after having been long and earnestly sought for, was received with feelings of deep gratitude towards the Metropolitan Government—an agitation, moreover, which can result in nothing beyond the continuation of the scenes from which this city has already so severely suffered, the disturbance of social order, and a renewal of the troubles, commotions and disasters which we have had to deplore in times now past.

Montreal, 15th October, 1849.

J. Leslie, M. L. C.

Joseph Bouret, M.L.C.

A. N. Morin, M.P.P., Bellechasse

L. M. Viger, M.P.P., Terrebonne

Malcolm Cameron, M.P.P., Kent

I. H. Price, M.P.P., S. Riding, York

Louis T. Drummond, M.P.P., Shefford

N. Dumas, M.P.P., Leinster

Geo. E. Cartier, M.P.P., Vercheres

Pierre Davignon, M.P.P., Rouville

L. Lacoste, M.P.P., Chambly

Wofd. Nelson, M.P.P., Richelieu

A. Jobin, M.P.P., Montreal."

At the same time there was left for signature at the Exchange News Room, Mechanics' Institute,

Mercantile Library and at Mack's and Daly's, the following protest, which was published later:—

“ We, the undersigned, inhabitants of the City of Montreal, owing and acknowledging allegiance to her Majesty the Queen, having read a certain Address to the People of Canada, in which SEPARATION FROM BRITISH CONNECTION, and a union with the United States of America are recommended as presenting *the only practicable remedy* for the evils which afflict this Province, do hereby SOLEMNLY AND DELIBERATELY RECORD OUR DISSENT from the precipitate and ill-advised conclusions which the authors and signers of that Address have arrived at.

“ We believe there is nothing in the present depressed condition of Canada which may not be promptly and effectively remedied by the adoption of a well considered system of legislation, without having resort to a measure revolting to our feelings, revolutionary in its character, and tending to the dismemberment of the British Empire. These views we are prepared to maintain by all constitutional means. Anxiously alive to the importance of promoting the material interests of this our native or adopted country, and of preserving unanimity and good will amongst all classes of our fellow citizens, we cannot but express an earnest hope that means may be devised, without delay, to restore prosperity to this Province, cement the ties which have so long existed with the mother country, and allay an agitation which may otherwise prove formidable.”

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| Allan, Hugh | Benny, Walter, jun. |
| Arnoldi, F. J. C. | Brodie, Hugh |
| Adamson, W. A. | Baylis, H. |
| - Armour, A. H. | Bridge, Thos. |
| Austin, T. (Chambly) | Bates, J. .. |
| - Aubertin, L. | Browne, J. Gordon |
| - Armour, Robert | - Bienvenue, B. |
| Allan, Andrew | Bryson, Campbell |
| Anderson, Jas. | Buchanan, J. B. |
| Auld, J. | Bristow, W. |
| Anderson, E. E. | Blackwood, Jas. M. |
| Allan, Thos. | Browne, W. M. |
| Allardice, John | Carey, Jos. |
| Alexander, Jas. | Cumming, Jas. W. |
| Bethune, John D.D. | Cowan, And. |
| Badgley, John T. | Cumming, W. B. |
| Breckenrige, — | Cowan, Jas. B. |
| - Bernard, I. D. | Cusack C. J. |
| Barry, John | Crispo, Wm. |
| Bidwell, Chas. R. | Campbell, John |
| Berry, Wm. | Cameron, N. |
| Baillie, G. A. | - Cherrier, A. |
| Bolton, Jas. | Coffin, W. F. |
| Binmore, Henry | Colquhoun, Walter |
| Brown, Jos. | Cramp, J. M. (D.D.) |
| Burns, John | Collis, R. D. |
| Burnett, H. | Coyle, Ed. |
| Bayley, J. | Campbell, Rollo |
| Benny, Walter | Chambers, Robt. |
| Bethune, Strachan | Clarke, W. H. |
| Barber, Jonathan | - Cousineau, P. |

Cochrane, John	Footvoye, Geo.
Dow, And.	Footner, W.
Duncan, Chris.	Fleming, J. R.
Demster, Geo.	Fuller, Logan
Dyde, John	Glennon, J.
Dorion, Theo.	Griffin, F.
Dalton, Fred.	Gerrand, Richard
Dalton, Wm.	Guy, Joseph
Derbishire, Hy.	Graham, J. M.
Driscoll, Henry (Q.C.)	Gibson, John
Delisle, John	Grant, John
Dier, John	Gibb, G. D. (M.D.)
Daly, D. Gore	Grenier, D.
Davis, R.	Gilmour, James
Daley, Jas. H.	Greenshields, Jas. B.
Dyde, R. S.	Grant, Jas.
Durocher, Thos.	Gibson, Solomon
Dalton, T. A.	Gettes, Wm.
Drysdale, —	Gillespie, Jas.
Duquette, D. F.	Gibb, A.
Duval, J. B.	Grant, John L.
Dominique, A. M.	Greenshields, Samuel
Elliott, John	Hannington, T. D.
Evans, J. H.	Hayes, M. J.
Edmonstone, W.	Hogan, W.
Easton A.	Haig, T. (Brockville)
Evans, Thos.	Hayes, Geo.
Evans, Wm., jun.	Haddock, —
Elliott, Andrew	Hallowell, John
Fraser John	Helliwell, Thos. L.
Fleet, W. H.	Howard, Thos.

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| Hunter, — | Lawrie, W. |
| Holland John | Lillie, James |
| Houghton, C. | Larocque, F. A. |
| Hart, A. | Leprohon, E. M. |
| Harding, J. | Laviscount, J. E. |
| Hillöck, John | Lovelace, R. |
| Holmes, James | Lovell, Wm. |
| Hutchison, R. A. | Lamoureux, Ed. |
| Howell, Sam. | McArthur, John |
| Irwin, J. (clerk) | Meredith, W. C., Q.C. |
| Isaacson, J. H. | Moffatt, J. O. |
| Ibbotson, W. E. | Morris, W., M.L.C. |
| Isaacson, R. P. | McGill, And. |
| Jordan, John | McKean, And. |
| Jones, John | Mack, W. Gordon |
| Joseph, J. H. | Montgomerie, H. E. |
| Johnston, James | Matthieson, Alex., D.D. |
| Jamieson, W. | Murray, Donald |
| Knox, John J. | Mair, David |
| Kerr, Jas. M. | McDonald, John |
| Kerr, Wm. | McIver, M. |
| Knox, Jno. | Mathewson, Hugh |
| Kershaw, J. | Middleton, T. W. |
| Kinloch, W. | McIndoe, Robt. |
| Kingan, J. | Maitland, Jas. A. |
| Langlois, Chas. | McCallum, C. F. |
| Lamplough, H. T. | Murray, J. |
| Leslie, P. | McDonald, Alex. |
| Levey, O. | McDonald, D. |
| Laberge, Aug. | McNaughton, A. |
| Logan, C. | McGrail, T. |

Meeker, John	Payne, —
Morris, Robt.	Palmer, Andrew
Miller, S.	Palmer, John
McAulay, D.	Paterson, D.
Mills, Thos.	Putnam, W.
McLachlin, W.	Palsgrave, C. T.
McGuire, Francis	Platt, J. C.
Morrison, John	Prouse, G. F.
Muir, Wm., jun.	Popham, H.
Morris, Alex.	Parent, Jos.
Moore, Jas.	Perrault, O.
Moffatt, Geo., jun.	Ryan, Thos.
McInroe, Jas.	Rae, Wm.
McFarlane, John	Rattray, J.
Mann, Geo.	Raphael, Thos. W.
McGrath, Thos.	Robertson, Chas.
McGibbon, Alex.	Rees, Henry
Muir, Robt.	Ramsay, Hugh
McIver, E.	Radenhurst, C. B.
McGinn, Thos.	Ralston, N. J.
Major, Jas. E.	Robertson, David
Mackay, Edward	Rennie, John
Martin, I. A.	Ross, David A.
McKenzie, Wm.	Robertson, A.
Macdonell, Eneas	Smith, Alex.
Moir, David	Solomons, M.
Noad, F. B.	Smith, John
Nelson, Robt.	Scobell, Jos.
Nicholson, R.	Sloane, J. S.
Palmer, Francis	Stewart, Jas.
Platt, Geo.	Stewart, A. B.

Slack, W. G.	Tiffin, John
Shuter, Joseph	Tierney, G. de Laval
Starnes, Henry	Vane, Fred. W.
Snaith, Wm.	Vane, A. J.
Sabine, H. S.	Weir, Robert
Selby, Chas.	Watkins, Richard
Smith, Robt.	Winn, J. J.
Sutherland, —	Wilson, I. (Quebec)
Smith, James	Wood, Robert
Stewart, And.	Wallace, Geo.
Sutherland, T. S.	Walker, John
Stanton, W. J.	Whanton, Isaac
Schmidt, Sam. B., M.D.	White, S.
Stevenson, A.	Wood, Thos.
Sutherland, Jas.	Wood, J.
Thompson, Johnston	Wright, Ed.
Turnbull, Thos. R.	Wragg, Thos. R.
Turner, Jas. M. C.	Walker, Alex.
Tobin, E.	Wells, J. H.
Tyre, James	Watt, Alex.
Templeton, Geo.	Young, John
Torrance, John	Yule, Wm.

CHAPTER XI.

THE MOVEMENT FOR A PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

An Early Protectionist Meeting.

Before proceeding to give an account of the tariff reform movement of 1858, it may not be amiss to give a report of the first protectionist meeting I can remember. It was held in the Bonsecours Market Hall, then a large open hall over the Bonsecours Market, where festivals and mass meetings were held, the Mayor, Hon. Charles Wilson, occupying the chair.

On the platform were Jacob de Witt, M.P.P., Dr. Wolfred Nelson, M.P.P., Wm. Workman, Benjamin Holmes, M.P.P., John Young, John Glass, L. H. Holton, Louis Marchand, John Molson, John Fisher, Harrison Stephens, Damase Masson, J. L. Beaudry, Narcisse Valois, Pierre Jodoin, J. H. Jobin, M.P.P., J. B. Smith, J. H. Joseph, John Ostell, A. Prevost, J. G. Mackenzie, Thomas Wilson, F. Leclair, J. H. Evans, L. Pinsonneault, Wm. Dow, Ira Gould, Col. Gogy, D. K. Lighthall, etc., etc.,

The meeting was understood to be non-political, but when Wm. Workman, who had headed the requisition, rose to move the first resolution, John Young, a well-known free trader, rose, and in a loud voice, drowned Mr. Workman's remarks, and moved

a resolution which, as a definition of free trade views, it may be well to report. It read as follows:—

“That this meeting is of opinion that taxation is an incident inseparable from social organization, that at best it is an evil, only to be submitted to in order to enable the people represented by their duly constituted authorities to protect the life and property of all classes alike from foreign or domestic aggression, and to undertake such public works and duties as may be deemed for the general good—that, therefore, taxes of every kind should be made as light as possible, with an efficient system of government, and equally laid on, so as to give the community who pay them the least inconvenience in doing so.”

Mr. Young insisted in speaking to his resolution amidst great uproar. It was felt that while he might, with propriety, have moved an amendment, he had no right to assume control of a meeting with the calling of which he had nothing to do. His motion was finally voted down by an overwhelming majority, Mr. Glass and Mr. Holmes being almost his only supporters.

When Mr. Young and his supporters had taken their departure, Jacob de Witt (a liberal M.P.P.) moved the main resolution, as follows:—

“That this meeting is of opinion that the Canadian Tariff, while being adjusted with a view to avoid all duties of a prohibitory or oppressive character, the revenue should be principally levied on imported articles which compete with those of domestic production, and that the materials for manufacturing

purposes, not profitably produced in the Province, should be admitted free, so as to give greater scope to domestic manufactures, and thereby the extension of the home market to the agriculturist."

Both Mr. Workman and Mr. De Witt pointed out that a protective tariff would give the farmers cheaper goods and more money to purchase them. Mr. Workman said:—

"The farmers can no longer be cajoled with the beautiful theories of a system which, while on the one hand it has reduced the price of their produce, has, on the other hand, compelled them to pay tribute to foreign manufactures in the shape of thirty per cent. on the utensils they use, and that, too, in gold, while at the same time these same utensils and farming implements could, under a fair and equitable protection, be manufactured at their own doors, at, I say, thirty per cent. cheaper than they now pay for them. I am prepared to show that under the system of protection to home industry which the United States have enjoyed, they have turned the scales against us. But here I will be met by a class of political economists who, although they cannot deny the facts, and they don't like the facts, will, nevertheless, proceed to quote from Adam Smith, and Mill, and Say, and Bastiat, to show that, although there is an apparent advantage, there is no real advantage, that twenty-five cents in Montreal will go as far as sixty cents in Troy; it must, they say, go as far, according to *first principles*. But, *first principles* or not, what are the facts? The American gets a higher price

for his oats, and can buy as many spades, shovels, stoves or scythes for four dollars as the Canadian farmer can buy for six. In other words, he can buy as many agricultural implements for sixteen bushels of oats as the Canadian farmer can buy for twenty-four bushels. It has been asserted that the meaning of protection is that the farmers shall pay double for what they consume. If that is the case, pray, how is it that United States protectionists are able to undersell Canadian free traders in their own markets? I know it is answered that the United States would have made the same progress without protection. Then, pray tell me how Canada, once so far before the United States, is now so far behind in this respect, that they are now buying from that country? No, gentlemen, paradoxical as it may appear, such are the benefits which their wise protectionist policy has bestowed on the United States that they have turned the scales. I say *turned the scales*.

“Those acquainted with bygone days in Montreal may remember the handsome share of American trade Montreal enjoyed from the frontier inhabitants during the free trade system in the United States. All the frontier towns were customers in our markets for stoves, castings, spades, calicoes, grey cottons, etc., etc., which Canada imported from England. Now, under the protective system which they adopted later, all this has been stopped, and they have become our suppliers. Look into any hardware store from Quebec to Sandwich, and you will find the floors strewn over with American wares, competing with, aye, and

underselling the *free trade* wares of Canada. I need only mention one of a hundred places, the creation of a protective policy:—

“In 1821, the ground on which stands the city of Lowell was a common farm. In 1854 it had a population of 30,000. The annual consumption of cotton was 61,000 bales, 12,500 tons of coal, 3,270 cords of wood, 67,842 gallons of oil, 600,000 bushels of charcoal, 800,000 lbs. of starch. More than a million and a half of dollars a year are paid in wages. The profits are large, and about 9,000 hands are employed the year through.

“These, gentlemen, are some of the advantages that would flow to Canada from a wisely adjusted protectionist tariff.”

It was strange to see large importers like William Workman and J. G. Mackenzie moving and seconding protectionist resolutions, but these men regarded the welfare of the country as something far beyond any personal consideration.

Jacob De Witt, one of the founders of La Banque du Peuple, and representing a French constituency, spoke with his usual array of arguments, in the same strain as Mr. Workman, the meeting being wound up by Harrison Stephens proposing a committee to draft a petition to the Legislature embodying the views of the meeting. Mr. Stephens, on appearing, was greeted with great applause, owing to the fact that his business partner, John Young, was the leader of the small free trade party.

Mr. Stephens, in proposing the fifth resolution, said:—

“ I will not at this late hour take up much of your time. We must all admit that whatever amount of duties is collected upon imports to meet the demands of the Government are, of necessity, a protection, and all we ask in common justice is that this protection shall be distributed in such a manner as to give to Canadian manufacturers their just and equitable share. And to show you that the present tariff is in direct opposition to this principle, it is only necessary to point out that out of a revenue of £386,000 collected last year upon imports, over £200,000 was collected upon eight articles, nearly all of common necessity, such as sugar, tea, coffee and molasses, the former paying a duty of fully one hundred per cent., while the manufactures that can easily be produced in the country must be content with a duty of only seven and a half per cent. for its share of protection. Can this be just and equitable towards the manufacturing interests of the country?—while the necessary demands of the Government require an average duty of about fourteen per cent. on the total imports. In this duty of seven and a half per cent. are included wooden manufactures, which, in this country of wood, should be manufactured among ourselves, in place of drawing our supplies of these articles, as we now do, from the United States.

“ I will merely add that we place this important question before the country unconnected with politics.

The committee named in Mr. Stephen's resolution included nearly all the gentlemen on the platform, besides the names of John Pratt, Jerome Grenier, F. X. Brazeau, J. M. Ferres, B. H. Lemoine, Wm. Lyman, T. S. Brown, Thomas Peck, Joseph Knapp, and Thos. F. Miller, all well known names fifty years ago, and many of whom invested their money in manufactures when the tariff was changed, thus contributing largely to the growth of the city.

// It may be well to note that in 1849 the duties were raised from $7\frac{1}{2}$ to $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

CHAPTER XII.

THE HISTORY OF THE TARIFF MOVEMENT CONTINUED.

The British League and the Annexation Movement having fallen flat, it became evident that Canada "must bear the ills she had rather than fly to others that she knew not of." The energetic and Tarte-like Francis Hincks had, in 1852, secured the building of the Grand Trunk Railway, and two years later the Treaty of Reciprocity with the United States, and following these came the Crimean war, which brought wheat up to two dollars a bushel, and the farmers were in clover. It soon became evident, however, that the United States was carrying off a large part of the money spent in building the Grand Trunk and Great Western Railways. Owing to Canada's low tariff, American traders and manufacturers were able to flood our markets with their merchandise and manufactures; the very spades and shovels, axes and hammers, used by the workmen and labourers being of American make. It was seen that Canadian industries were starving in the midst of plenty, and a cry for a better tariff became general. In 1854 the split in the Liberal party, which united one wing with the Conservatives, gave the advocates of a more protective tariff hopes of a change, but it

SIXTY YEARS IN CANADA.

was not till 1858 that anything was accomplished. I was then living in Toronto, and in active communication with the protective associations of Montreal and Toronto. A convention was called, as was then the custom, to meet in Toronto before the budget was brought down, it being considered the right time to move, as more money would be required, and the idea was to get the tariff re-adjusted to meet the views of the advocates of protection. A large number of delegates and friends of the movement met and named committees to report on the requirements of the various branches of manufacture. These were invited to report to a central committee consisting of W. B. Jarvis, Hon. Isaac Buchanan, Thomas Brunskill, W. Rodden, D. C. Gunn, with myself as secretary. The central committee met in my private office, and, from the reports sent them, drew up a scale of duties to meet the views of the convention. The central committee then drew up a series of resolutions, which, after being approved at a public meeting of delegates and others, were embodied in the following petition:—

PETITION

To the Honourable the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada, in Parliament assembled:—

The memorial of the undersigned merchants, manufacturers and others from the various sections of the said Province, assembled in public meeting at Toronto,

HUMBLY SHEWETH

That your memorialists desire to call the attention of your honourable House to the depression which all branches of manufactures and commerce now suffer in the Province, and to the necessity that exists for a consideration of the causes to which this depression is wholly or in part attributable.

That, in the opinion of your memorialists, the difficulties now experienced by all classes of the community are, in a large degree, the consequence of an unfair competition to which the present tariff of the Province exposes its various branches of industry, and that, with a view to the promotion of general prosperity, a re-adjustment of the scale of duties levied upon imports has become an absolute necessity.

That the existing tariff is based on erroneous principles, inasmuch as it admits at low rates of duty the manufactures of other countries, which are thus brought into collusion with a class of labour now in Canada not fitted for agricultural pursuits, and charges high rates on articles that cannot be produced within our boundaries.

That, apart from the prevailing depression, the present Provincial tariff operates disadvantageously by preventing the influx of capital, which, under due encouragement, would be introduced and applied for the development of our natural resources; and, moreover, to limit the scope of industry as to offer impediments in the way of skill, and largely to lessen the attractiveness of Canada as a field for immigration.

That a re-adjustment of the tariff is governed by principles in themselves just would materially benefit every class in the community, without in any manner crippling the custom's revenue.

That in the judgment of your memorialists such a re-adjustment should recognise as distinctive principles the admission duty free, or at low rates of duty, of raw materials for manufacture not produced in the Province. The admission, free of duty, or at low rates, of articles entering largely into general consumption, and not competing with the natural products of Canada, and the levying of higher duties upon articles entering into competition with articles manufactured, or which, with due encouragement, may be manufactured by our people.

That your memorialists, representing diversified industrial and mercantile interests, and having ample opportunities of ascertaining the wants and convictions of the classes with whom they co-operate, urge upon your honourable House the expediency in the change in the tariff sought, of proceeding upon the following positions as guiding points in the work of tariff reform:—

1. All raw material upon which there is but a small amount of labour expended prior to its importation, and having the larger proportion of labour to be performed in Canada, it is considered should be admitted free, or at a duty not exceeding $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

2. Articles entering largely into general consumption in this country, and which Canada cannot produce, such as tea, coffee, raw sugar, molasses, etc.,

should not be charged with a high rate of duty, but should be admitted free, or at the lowest possible rate consistent with the requirements of the revenue. //

3. Merchandise in the dry goods, hardware, or in the crockery trades, being articles of luxury or for use, and not likely for some time to be manufactured in this country, and some of which are used to form part of the goods and wares manufactured in Canada, should be charged with a medium duty of about fifteen per cent., or not to exceed twenty per cent., but at the rate of about ten per cent. below what may be charged on articles coming directly in competition with our own manufactured products. //

4. All manufacturers of wood, iron, brass, copper, leather, india-rubber, etc., competing with our industrial products, should be charged with a duty of about twenty-five per cent. //

Cottons and woollens, cordage, lines and twines, about twenty per cent.; clothing and wearing apparel, thirty per cent. //

Books, drawings, etc., ten to fifteen per cent. //

That your memorialists, believing that the immediate effect of a revision of the tariff, according to the scale now suggested, would be to mitigate the despondency perceptible in every quarter, to create a feeling of confidence in the minds of resident capitalists, to attract the attention of foreigners to our magnificent manufacturing resources, to stimulate enterprise among our mechanics and artisans, and to import fresh vigour to our agricultural population. //

That your memorialists, in conclusion, respectfully

pray that your honourable House would be pleased to give prompt consideration to the whole subject, and adopt, without delay, such changes as may be found essential to the promotion of the great public interests that are involved, and as to your wisdom may seem meet.

And your memorialists will ever pray. .

Signed on behalf of the meeting,

W. B. Jarvis, *Chairman*

Isaac Buchanan

W. Rodden

Thos. Brunskill

D. C. Gunn

W. Weir, *Secretary*.

The public meeting referred to was held in the St. Lawrence Hall, Toronto, on the 14th April, 1858, and was largely attended, although the *Leader* (the Government organ) stated to the contrary. The main resolution recommending the scale of duties was moved by Wm. Rodden, of Montreal, at the conclusion of whose address Mr. George Sheppard, then one of the editors of the *Leader*, proposed the following amendment:—

“That this meeting, recognizing the fact that in every country Legislative protection has been deemed and found essential to the creation of manufacturing industry, and that, under the operation of the present Canadian tariff, the manufactures of Canada are exposed to a competition as unjust as detrimental to all concerned, this meeting urges on the Government

and Parliament the necessity of an immediate re-adjustment of the tariff in the direction of protection, convinced that the immediate effect of such an adjustment will be to attract foreign capital here, to stimulate and develop our magnificent natural resources, to create a more steady demand for labour, foster a more constant and remunerative market for agricultural produce, and establish a more general and enduring confidence than now exists in the minds of the community in regard to the position and destiny of the Province."

This resolution was seconded by Col. O'Brien.

In supporting his motion, Mr. Sheppard declared he did not know whether this was a free trade or protectionist meeting. If the gentleman who had so ably supported the resolution had embodied his speech in the resolution itself, he would not have moved an amendment, but the resolutions simply recommended a scale of duties without affirming any principle. He (Mr. Sheppard) wished an honest declaration in favour of protection.

At this point Mr. Buchanan whispered to me in his homely Scotch manner, "*the fat's in the fire*," but neither he nor Mr. Sheppard knew Mr. Rodden as I did, and I merely said "wait." It was not, however, surprising that Mr. Buchanan should have been afraid, for Mr. Sheppard was a fine speaker, with a tongue almost as smooth as Sir Wilfrid Laurier's, and when he sat down it looked indeed as if the "fat was in the fire."

Mr. Rodden rose amid silence, but with a smile on

his countenance. He was glad to know that Mr. Sheppard was a protectionist, but surprised that so able a man, when he heard that his (Mr. Rodden's) resolution proposed to raise the duties on manufactures competing with those of Canada from fifteen to twenty-five per cent., could not make out whether this was a free trade or protectionist meeting, while Mr. Sheppard's amendment might mean that they would be satisfied with an increase of *one per cent.* "Yes, gentlemen," said Mr. Rodden, "the Government might increase the duties *one per cent.*, and tell us, if this amendment carried, that the change was in accordance with our resolution."

At this point, Col. O'Brien withdrew his seconding the amendment, when Mr. Harvey, of Peterborough, took his place.

Mr. Sheppard's eloquence, however, went for nothing. In five minutes, Mr. Rodden, who was a clever debater, had the whole meeting with him, and, after the amendment had been voted down, the resolution was carried unanimously.

The last resolution named the following gentlemen to prepare the petition to the Legislature, and to wait upon the Government to press its prayer.

Isaac Buchanan, M.P.P.	W. F. Harris, Montreal
James Crombie, Galt.	D. F. Jones, Gananoque
W. B. James, Toronto	W. Barber, Georgetown
G. Sheppard, Toronto	J. Hilton, Montreal
W. Rodden, Montreal	John Shaw, Kingston
D. McLeod, Port Hope	J. Gaitshore, Dundas

W. Weir, Toronto	A. Drummond, Belleville
R. Hay, Toronto	A. McNaughton,
E. Atwater, Montreal	Newcastle
T. F. Miller, Montreal	J. Keeler, Colbourne
J. L. Mathewson,	A. Buntin, Montreal
Montreal	C. Brent, Port Hope
R. McKinnon, Caledonia	John Rankin, Dundas
M. Anderson, London	J. E. Pell, Toronto
B. Clark, Hamilton	G. Towner, Merrickville
D. C. Gunn, Hamilton	C. Garth, Montreal
E. Leonard, London	H. O. Burritt, Ottawa
J. Cummings, Hamilton	W. Parkyn, Montreal
J. Buntin, Hamilton	C. W. Bangs, Ottawa
D. Smart, Port Hope	J. C. Pennock, Castleton
C. Brown, Montreal	Jas. Hickie, Kingston
D. Crawford, Toronto	R. Patterson, Belleville
J. G. Bowes, Toronto	R. B. Colton, Brockville
T. Brunskill, Toronto	M. Bowell, Belleville
G. P. M. Ball, Louth	Jas. Brown, Belleville
J. M. Williams, Hamilton	R. Colman, Lynn
J. Helms, jun., Port Hope	R. Featherston, Kingston

Many of the delegates had returned to their homes before the meeting, and I regret that their names have been lost. Many of those named above had also left before the interview with the Government took place, that event having been put off till the 16th of April, when the newspapers tell us " a deputation from the Executive Committee of the Tariff Reform Association waited, by appointment, on the Inspector-General at the Council Office. The deputa-

tion consisted of the following members:—Hon. Isaac Buchanan, W. B. Jarvis, W. Rodden, Thos. Brunskill and J. E. Bell, accompanied by the following gentlemen:—

Hon. Chas. Wilson,	J. H. Pope, M.P.P.
M.P.P.	John White, M.P.P.
D. A. McDonald, M.P.P.	J. G. Bowes
S. Bellingham, M.P.P.	Edwin Atwater
T. M. Daly, M.P.P.	J. L. Mathewson
J. M. Ferres, M.P.P.	Charles Garth
John Carling, M.P.P.	Wm. Weir
T. D. McGee, M.P.P.	T. F. Miller
W. Mattice, M.P.P.	D. C. Gunn, and others.
John Cameron, M.P.P.	W. Parkyn

With the Inspector-General (Hon. Wm. Cayley) were the Premier (Hon. John A. Macdonald) and Hon. Geo. E. Cartier.

Messrs. Jarvis, Rodden and McGee, having explained the object of the interview, the Inspector-General replied that the Government was disposed to carry out the views of the deputation, as far as consistent with the general interests of the country and the requirements of the revenue, and that measures would be submitted during the present session, which, if they did not meet their views in all cases, would, he believed, be generally satisfactory.

Several gentlemen present entered into explanations respecting the requirements of their several branches of trade, and impressed upon the members of the Gov-

ernment present the necessity of immediate legislation on this important question. In answer to a question from Mr. McGee, the Inspector-General replied that the duties would certainly be adjusted with a view to the encouragement of our home industries.

When Mr. Cayley brought down his budget, it was found that he had kept his promise. The *twenty per cent.* list included all manufactures of silk, wool, wood, iron, brass, copper, silver, glass, leathers of all kinds and india-rubber manufactures. A strong effort was made to include cotton manufactures, but as there were then no cotton factories in the country, the importers argued that we did not want to protect an industry that did not exist, and we had to give way, leaving cottons at fifteen per cent. A strong effort was also made by the importers to strike out woolens, and Mr. Buchanan came to me (on the floor of the House) and suggested our giving way, but I had canvassed the members and knew we could carry our point, and reminding him that a duty on woolens meant protection for the farmers' wool. He went over to Mr. Cayley, and after a short conference it was announced that the duty on woolens would remain at twenty per cent., and that the duty on boots and shoes, harness and ready-made clothing would remain as proposed, at twenty-five per cent. Thus, for the first time, was the principal of protection applied to Canadian manufactures.

The effect of Mr. Cayley's tariff on the manufacturing industries of the country was most marked, and encouraged the Hon. A. T. Galt, in 1859, to make

a "new departure" and raise the whole unenumerated list to twenty per cent., leaving boots, shoes, harness and ready-made clothing at twenty-five per cent. as before. By this bold measure, cottons, as well as woolens, were placed on the twenty per cent list, and our great cotton factories was the result. Mr. Galt also legislated in favour of the St. Lawrence route, much to the disgust of the Toronto and Hamilton merchants, who were thus, for part of their supplies, shut out of the New York markets, where a much better selection could be made than in Montreal.

Never was there a greater contrast between two men than between Mr. Cayley and Mr. Galt—the former nervous, easily excited and easily put out, the latter a big, broad-shouldered, good natured Scotch (English) man, ready to cross swords with any one willing to enter the lists against him. He was probably the ablest Finance Minister of that period, and clothed the "dry details" of his budget with an interest that drew crowds to hear him; even the ladies leaving the theatres and other places of amusement to hear him speak.

Mr. Galt's tariff, except for a few minor changes, remained in force till Confederation, when the unenumerated list, as well as the duties on boots, shoes, harness and ready-made clothing, was reduced to fifteen per cent, to meet the views of the Lower Provinces, which were still in favour of a low tariff on manufactures. This was a serious blow to Canadian industries, and put the country back more than Confederation had put it forward; and it was not till the

country had been brought to the verge of ruin, that our people realized the necessity of action, and carried the *National Policy* at the polls in 1878. This policy not only restored the duties of Mr. Galt's tariff, but went beyond it, in many articles adopting the scale of duties recommended by the Convention held in Toronto in 1858, as will be seen by the memorial of that Convention.

Of all the misconceptions by which the world has been deceived, none have been more baneful than to call *free imports* free trade. Free trade implies reciprocity. Without reciprocity there can be no free trade. But because England, after two hundred years of protection, during which she had increased her wealth, perfected her machinery, and, by the repeal of the Corn Laws, obtained cheap bread and cheap labour, was able to open her ports to all nations, we were told that the true policy was to follow her example.

It was while this doctrine of so-called free trade was being preached in England that immigration into Canada was at its height, and all those who came to this country between 1835 and 1850 had become impressed with the belief that the true principles of trade had at last been revealed; whereas, all that had been discovered was that England, by squeezing the landlords and farmers, gave her workmen cheap bread, and by reducing wages was able to compete with the whole world in the sale of her manufactures. The discoveries of gold in California and Australia at the same time gave an impetus to commerce which was

believed to be the result of "free trade." Now that other nations, by continuing to protect their industries are able to compete with England, that country will soon be obliged, in her own defence, to return to her old protective policy, unless she can persuade other nations to give reciprocal advantages.

Since 1858 my only connection with tariff movements was to draft a memorial which the bankers addressed to the Government in 1897. It was feared, and even rumoured, that drastic measures would be adopted in the direction of lower duties on manufactures, and the late Wolferstan Thomas, being a supporter of the Government, was asked by the bankers to draw up a memorial pointing out the danger of any hasty measures calculated to disturb the industries of the country. This duty Mr. Thomas entrusted to me, and a memorial, as drawn up by me, and signed by the presidents or general managers of the Montreal banks, was presented through Mr. Thomas to the Federal Government, and it was generally understood had considerable influence in restraining rash legislation at that time.

Before closing this history of the Canadian tariffs, I propose, very briefly, to review the United States' tariffs and to compare them with those of Canada.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE UNITED STATES AND CANADIAN TARIFFS COMPARED.

The tariffs of the United States is an object lesson to Canadians. In 1779, three years after the Declaration of Independence, their tariff was almost identical with the Canadian tariff of 1847, till which time the British Government framed the tariffs of Canada. The United States, however, advanced much more rapidly to a protective tariff, for, by 1824, that country had reached a tariff as high as that of Canada to-day. Hence the early development of her manufactures.

The figures I have given in the following table are principally those of non-enumerated articles, but in some articles, such as woolen manufactures, there were, and still are, so many enumerated articles, and articles paying specific duties, that I had to strike an average, which will be found nearly correct. This remark will also apply to the Canadian tariff.

The student of history will have noticed the cry raised by the Democrats in the United States against the high tariff, largely to catch the Western votes, a movement being repeated in Canada to-day. On several occasions when the Democrats were in the ascendency, the tariff was lowered, but always with disastrous results.

It was not, however, till 1857, when one Democrat succeeded another, that the folly of tampering with the tariff was clearly seen. James Buchanan had succeeded Franklin Pierce, and in March of that year, a tariff largely reducing the duties on imports was passed, and within six months the most disastrous crisis that ever occurred in the United States passed over the country. The results of that tariff taught the country a lesson, and in 1861, when Abraham Lincoln became President, the tariff was nearly doubled, and has not since been seriously disturbed. The Democrats have talked, but, when elected on some other issue, have not tried to lower the tariff seriously a second time.

It is curious how history repeats itself. Scarcely had the Canadian tariff of 1858 and 1859 started the Canadian factories, when, to meet the views of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, at the time of Confederation, the protective tariff of those years was swept away, and by 1873 the country was again demanding the old policy. But the Pacific scandal had driven the Conservatives from power, and Alexander Mackenzie, as full of Free Trade theories as John Young or George Brown, became Premier. The country was suffering, but Mr. Mackenzie and his supporters could not see that more protection was the true remedy. He was defeated in 1878, and fell clinging nobly to what he believed to be the teachings of Adam Smith, Mill and Say, and if not a wise man, at least an honest one.

Once more those who carried the tariff of 1858-9 were restored to power, and the National Policy was the result. Every one who knows anything, knows what that policy did for Canada. We have only to look around us to see its effects to-day, for except the British Preference Clause of 1898, the present Government has maintained, and in some cases improved, the Conservative tariff.

Passing over for the moment the "Preferential Clause" in the present Canadian tariff, let us look at the progress of the United States tariff towards its present development. The figures in the following table show the duties on imports at the respective dates, bearing in mind that it is only an average rate, and is not to be taken as a guide to the duty on any specified articles.

It may be well to point out, so far as regards the Canadian tariff, while cotton and woollen manufactures as well as leather manufactures appear in the twenty per cent. list in the tariff of 1859, ready-made clothing and boots and shoes were charged twenty-five per cent. Hence the rapid growth of these two great Canadian Industries.

It is also to be noted that by the preference clause many articles are charged much below twenty per cent., and these duties call for special revision.

THE UNITED STATES TARIFFS FROM 1779 TO 1891.

YEAR.....	1778.	1808.	1824.	1842.	1846.	1857.	1866.	1870.	1891.
ARTICLES.	per ct. per ct. per ct. per ct. per ct. per ct. per ct. per ct. per ct.								
Brass Manufactures	10	17½	25	30	30	24	35	35	45
“	7½	17½	25	30	25	19	35	35	45
“	12½	15	25	25	20	15	40	40	45
“	7½	17½	25	30	30	24	35	35	45
“	7½	17½	25	25	30	24	35	35	35
“	7½	15	25	25	20	15	35	35	35
“	10	17½	20	30	30	24	35	40	60
“	12½	15	30	30	30	24	35	35	35
“	12½	15	30	40	30	24	40	40	50
“	7½	20	25	25	25	25	60	60	60

Compared with the above, the Canadian duties from 1847 to 1898 were as follows, bearing in mind that these are only the average rates.

Articles.	T.ariff.									
	1847.	1849.	1859.	1868.	1874.	1879.	1895.	1897.	1898.	
Brass Manufactures	7½	12½	20	15	17½	22	30	30	20	
Cotton "	7½	12½	20	15	17½	22	30	30	20	
Flax "	7½	12½	20	15	17½	20	30	30	20	
Glass "	7½	12½	20	15	17½	25	30	30	20	
Cutlery "	7½	12½	20	15	17½	20	30	30	20	
India-rubber "	7½	12½	20	15	17½	25	30	30	20	
Iron "	7½	12½	20	15	17½	25	30	30	20	
Leather "	10	12½	20	15	17½	25	25	25	16⅔	
Hats, etc. "	7½	12½	20	15	17½	25	30	30	20	
Paper "	10	12½	20	15	17½	25	30	30	20	
Silks "	7½	12½	20	15	17½	30	30	30	20	
Stoneware "	7½	12½	20	15	17½	25	30	30	20	
Tin "	7½	12½	20	15	17½	25	25	25	16⅔	
Wooden "	7½	12½	20	15	17½	30	30	30	20	
Woolen "	7½	12½	20	15	17½	25	30	30	20	

Let us now look at this Preferential Clause of 1897, amended in 1898, to embrace Bermuda and the West Indies, which every one knows have no manufactures to send to Canada, and what do we find? A tariff which so far has only done harm, and is calculated to do much more harm when the prosperous times of the past few years have passed away, as they will pass away in due time. It may well be asked what has been or will be accomplished by this Clause? It has already disturbed some branches of trade and will in time disturb others, to say nothing of the feeling of uncertainty which it has created. Those who would enlarge their premises, or start new industries, ask themselves, are we wise to put our money in new buildings and machinery in view of recent legislation and more recent events?

The present Government found the foundations laid for a great future, and have built with energy and judgment on that foundation. Let us hope they will continue to build, not in *one* direction, but in *all* directions, in spite of the foolish cries of unthinking men who have learned nothing and forgotten much in their journey through life.

To me, looking back over the last sixty years, it appears that the true and only safe policy for Canada, is to adopt the United States tariff with such minor changes as our different circumstances may require. This would give a true National Policy to one half the Continent of North America, and place

Canada on a level with her great neighbour to the South. How many thousands of expatriated Canadians, who still love their native country, would such a policy bring back to their native land? They were banished through the stupidity of former Free Traders, and will remain banished till our people open their eyes to see what is required to make this country rich and prosperous. Aye, and not only our own people, but thousands of enterprising Americans would come to a country equal in every respect to their own with much more *elbow room* than they have at home.

I know that the farmers of the Northwest complain that they can buy many things cheaper in the United States than in Canada, but let them remember that it was the high tariff that enabled the Americans to manufacture cheaply, by giving them the whole market. Give Canada the same tariff and the result will be the same. Neither should they forget that their wheat crops will not last forever. As in the Richelieu Valley and in Ontario, the fly and the rust will come, and a rotation of crops will become necessary in the Northwest as elsewhere, and unless, by a protective tariff, that large country is dotted over with manufacturing towns and cities, where will their farmers find a market for those bulky and perishable articles produced by a *rotation* of crops, but which cannot be exported. Surely they are not the friends of the Northwestern farmer, who would advise him to oppose the National Policy.

The history of England tells the story of an agricultural country. So long as she sold her raw materials to the Dutchmen, and bought her manufactures from them, she was the laughing-stock of the prudent Dutch, who had a jest that "the Englishman sold the *skin* of the fox for fourpence and bought back the *tail* for a shilling." But in time England learned her lesson, and became the most protective country in the world, even to forbidding improved machinery or skilled workmen to be sent abroad. It was only by these means, and by the Repeal of the Corn Laws, which brought about cheap bread and low wages, that England was able to invite the world to become free traders. That is, now, nearly sixty years ago, but no nation has followed her example; and to all appearance she will in time be obliged to return to her ancient protective policy.

As to Americans being offended at Canada's raising her tariff. Why should a tariff equal to their own offend them? Canada would still be among her best customers. The demand for raw cotton, tobacco and anthracite coal must still be supplied by the United States, and in increased quantities as Canada grows, so that the demand for three of their leading staples would still come from this country.

We hear much of the progress of England under Free Trade, but what of the greater progress of the United States under protection, seeing that the one

country began with the wealth of ages at its back, and the other a poor struggling country like our own.

I wish the Liberals would return to their *first love*, for it seems unnatural for me to belong to any other party. Yet since 1854, when the Eastern Liberals went over to Sir Allan McNab, there has been no choice. To many the secularization of the *Clergy Reserves* was the bond of union, but the really more important question of the National Policy forced myself and many others to join the Liberal Conservatives, as we could not accept the Free Trade doctrines of George Brown and his followers; the wisdom of which Francis Hincks (up till then Finance Minister), was beginning to doubt, and to frame his tariffs on protectionist lines. How well, also, do I remember when Thomas D'Arcy McGee came to my office with the late William Rodden and discussed with us the tariff question. Then walking by my side to plead with Government, with all his eloquence for a protective tariff, voted against his party in support of the Government measure.

A great mistake, which nearly all make, is to regard the Canadian manufacturer as no more worthy of consideration than the British or American manufacturer; whereas *one* factory in Canada is worth, to the farmer as well as to the citizen, *ten* factories in a foreign country. It is the Canadian manufacturer's money that fills our stores and our markets with customers, our houses with tenants, our schools

with children, and pays the farmer for those bulky articles which he cannot send abroad. The manufacturer's money circulates everywhere. Why should we kill the hen that lays the golden egg?

I see the Canadian Manufacturers' Association are to call upon the people to use home-made goods. Benjamin Franklin did the same thing, so did Isaac Buchanan in 1858, and I remember his entering the House of Assembly in a suit of *etoffe du pays* (gray homespun), to the great amusement of his fellow members.

Fifty years ago we were told by the importers that Canada could not make a yard of decent cotton or woolen goods, a pair of india-rubber shoes, or a side of patent leather. How many people, except the swells, are using anything else to-day?

With the United States tariff in force in Canada, a British Preference Tariff as suggested further on could easily be arranged. Otherwise there will be trouble. And why should those who have risked their money and devoted their time to develop Canadian industries be exposed to the blighting effects of over-production in other countries?

I see the politicians of New England are again talking reciprocity, but with them this means a wider field for their manufactures. Canada has no use for that kind of reciprocity. When the two tariffs are equal then will be the time to discuss that measure.

Grant me once more the privilege of an old man

to look back. Sixty years ago the Liberals of Lower Canada were all protectionists, except a few new arrivals of the Cobden School. The farms were cleared and the people called for a diversity of employments to retain their sons and daughters at home. But the great Province of Upper Canada, while clearing her forests, did not wish to see a high tariff placed upon her stoves, her axes or her potash kettles. Every man, woman and child was fully occupied and a diversity of employments was not wanted. Now, with the forests cleared, and the children grown up, many are found to have no taste for agricultural pursuits, and finding no congenial employment at home have gone to foreign lands, so that there is scarcely a large family in Canada to-day that has not one or more of its members voluntary exiles. What was true of Lower Canada fifty years ago is now true of nearly all the Provinces of the Dominion. There should, therefore, be little difficulty in persuading the great majority of Canadians, for their own and their children's sakes, to call for such changes as the future prosperity of the country demands.

As I write it is stated that the Manufacturers' Association is asking its members to report what changes in the tariff they consider desirable at the present time. This is all very well for the information of the Minister of Finance, but creates the impression that the movement is in the interest of a *class* instead of being in the interest of the country at large. This was

carefully avoided in 1858, only two of the six (William Rodden and D. C. Gunn), who drafted the petition and scale of duties, being manufacturers, the others, like Isaac Buchanan and Thomas Brunskill, were only interested in promoting the general prosperity.

I would therefore earnestly urge upon all classes the importance of co-operating with the manufacturers in securing the end in view. This united action is rendered all the more necessary by recent events. The British Preferential Tariff of 1898 is the most serious blow that has fallen upon Canadian industries since 1868, and its full effects will not be felt till the tide of prosperity now prevailing all over the world takes a turn. The only hope is, that having heard Mr. Chamberlain's frank avowal, the Canadian Parliament will, without delay, eliminate this clause from the Canadian tariff now that it has accomplished its purpose of causing the Imperial Government to show its hand.

Mr. Chamberlain may talk of Reciprocal Free Trade, but any British Ministry that would attempt at the moment to tax the British people's bread beyond the present nominal tax would find itself in the cold shades of opposition very speedily. Canada might offer to sacrifice every industry in the country for the benefit of Manitoba farmers, whose rich lands need no such sacrifice, but even that would not secure them a preference in the British markets. There is, however, a large field for reciprocal trade between

Great Britain and her colonies, if gone about in the right way. If this Preferential Tariff were set aside, Canada could then unite with the other important colonies in offering Great Britain a preference of, say, ten per cent. on all British goods, in return for a like preference to certain colonial articles to be mutually agreed upon. This list need not be extensive at first, as it could be increased from time to time as its benefits became apparent. There should be no great objection to Great Britain putting a ten per cent. duty on foreign mutton and pork, on fruits and vegetables and on many kinds of canned goods, as well as on many manufactured articles now competing with British labour, such as furniture, matches, leather and leather manufactures. Indeed the list of articles which the colonies can furnish to supply Britain's wants is now large, and it needs only wise heads to arrange a tariff to the advantage both of the mother land and of the colonies of the Empire. Lord Onslow gave expression to a great truth when he said at a recent meeting, "Times have changed since Cobden's day; then the Empire produced little, now it produces almost everything."

As I close this brief review of the United States and Canadian Tariffs, the full text of Mr. Chamberlain's remarks at the Colonial Conference is to hand, from which I make two short extracts:—

"The very valuable experience which we have derived from the history of the Canadian Tariff shows, that while we may most readily and most gratefully

accept from you a preference which you may be willing voluntarily to accord to us, we cannot bargain with you for it, we cannot pay you for it unless you go much further *and enable us to enter your home market* on terms of greater equality."***** "In my mind whenever customs duties are balanced by excise duties, or whenever they are levied on articles which are *not produced at home*, the enforcement of such duties is no derogation from the principles of free trade as I understand it."

In plain words Mr. Chamberlain proposes that Canada should shut up her factories and raise her revenue partly by taxing the farmer's horses and waggons, his dogs and his guns, and partly by taxing his tea, coffee, sugar, molasses and salt as in old times when tea sold at a dollar a pound, refined sugar at sixteen cents and molasses at double their present price, the very duties which led to the American Revolution and to the loss to England of her six millions of colonists and half the continent of North America in 1776.—No, no, Mr. Chamberlain,—this may suit a rich country like England whose people are living largely on their money, but will not suit a country struggling to gain a foothold among its neighbours.

To open our doors to British manufactures would mean the closing up of every factory in the country. Millions of dollars of property rendered worthless. Our Banks and investment companies ruined; our towns and cities deserted, our enterprising citizens

driven to the United States, leaving the old and helpless behind.

Surely the Parliament of Canada, now free to frame its own tariff, will never be guilty of such an act of folly as to continue the downward career begun in 1897, which has only been prevented from disastrous consequences by the general prosperity everywhere prevailing, the great crops of the North West, and the mining industries of British Columbia and the Yukon.

I trust the Government will not make this a party question, but will leave it an open one for Parliament to decide. Why should a Government which even its opponents must admit has administered the affairs of the country for the last six years with energy and prudence (except in this Preference Tariff matter); expose itself to defeat as it is sure to do by repeating Premier Mackenzie's mistake because forty-five years ago a section of the liberal party of which scarcely one survives, inscribed Free Trade upon its banners?—a doctrine always opposed by the Province of Quebec, as well as by a large part of the Liberals of Ontario.

But the Governments of the great self-governing colonies must be united. It is absurd for Canada to offer this, Australia that, and New Zealand something else. They must discuss the question together and decide upon giving a preference to each other, inviting Great Britain to join in this Imperial Preference.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SILVER NUISANCE.

I now come to the American Silver *Nuisance*, for which I deserved the least and received the greatest credit. So true are the Psalmist's words that "Men will speak well of thee when thou dost well to thyself."

In order to understand this question thoroughly, it will be necessary to glance at the condition of the Canadian currency at that time. At the Union in 1840, the British sovereign was a legal tender at twenty-four shillings and four pence, Halifax currency, and the British shilling and sixpence at twenty-five cents and twelve and a half cents respectively. A premium of nearly three per cent. was thus offered for importing British silver, and a surplus of that silver was the result. Later, Legislation made this silver a legal tender at twenty-four shillings and four pence to the pound, or about three-tenths of a cent less than twenty-five cents, but it continued to circulate at the old rate, but was not received at the banks nor at the post-offices at over twenty-four cents.

In the absence of a twenty-five cent coin, the Bank of British North America offered, if the merchants resolved to pass the British shilling at twenty-four cents, to import United States silver to supply the want, as these coins were re-

ceived freely by the banks and the Government. Before this time the silver currency consisted largely of Spanish and old United States silver, but these coins, having gone to a premium, rapidly disappeared. In 1847-8, the firm with which I was engaged sold, in New York, considerable quantities of old Spanish and United States silver coins at three and four per cent. premium. These coins were drained from the United States as well as from Canada, so that in 1853 that country reduced the weight of its silver coins to retain them in circulation.

It was not till 1858, on the Government deciding to keep its accounts in dollars and cents, that Canada had a silver coin of its own. In that year the Government of Canada ordered from the Royal Mint.

\$80,000	in	20	cent	pieces
60,000	"	10	"	"
60,000	"	5	"	"
40,000	"		bronze	cents.

Many, myself amongst them, objected strongly in the Press to the issue of a twenty instead of a twenty-five cent piece, and the *Toronto Leader* (the Government organ) had this to say in reply:—

“A correspondent thinks the list incomplete, and pleads hard for the quarter dollar pieces. The quarter dollar may be a convenience of habit, it may be acceptable because we are accustomed to it, but it is no necessary part of the decimal system. It has been grafted on the decimal system of the United States, but that of France has refused to be disturbed

by it, and the franc, which represents twenty sous, as nearly as possible twenty cents, may be taken as the equivalent of the twenty cent piece, which is about to appear in our currency. The French system, which, in this respect we are copying, is not less convenient than that of the United States. The only difficulty is that we have been accustomed to the American quarter dollar, that it is still in circulation among us, and that it does not fit so exactly as might be to the currency we are adopting. Not that there is any discrepancy further than a question of four or five to the dollar, and a difference in size.

“We are accustomed to the twenty cent piece, for we have it in the Halifax shilling, though we have it now for the first time in a tangible coin. The only question is whether in ridding ourselves of the Halifax currency, and in trying to banish from our minds its fractional parts, it is quite consistent to retain the equivalent of the Halifax shilling, with the additional disadvantage of deviating from the American division of the dollar. But the twenty-five cent piece can be coined later, if wanted.”

I never heard what fool in the Finance Department suggested the twenty cent piece, for in spite of the special pleading of the *Leader*, every one saw it was a mistake; even the *Leader* damned it with faint praise.

When Jefferson recommended the dollar to the Americans as the unit of exchange, as the Spaniards had adopted it hundreds of years before, he recommended also their following the same nation in the sub-division into halves and quarters, although he

also went ahead of the Spaniards in dividing the dollar into one hundred cents, thus forming the decimal system which Canada followed in 1858.

These new coins were only used at the post-offices and when required to make legal tender payments, the great bulk of the silver currency being United States coins and British shillings and sixpences, the latter two coins still circulating at twenty-five and twelve and a half cents respectively. Such was the state of the Canadian silver currency at the outbreak of the Southern war in 1861. Towards the close of that year the United States virtually suspended specie payments, but it was not till the 5th of July, 1862, that gold went to a premium of *ten per cent.* in New York, which carried silver also to a premium, and as the United States, like England, had coined its silver above its intrinsic value as compared with gold, the former sold at from three to five per cent. below the price of gold in New York, the price fluctuating according to the demand from Canada, South America and the West Indies, where these coins still circulated at par. The banks and brokers all over the United States, of course, sent their gold and silver to New York to be sold at a premium, and silver soon fell to a discount of five per cent., when large shipments were made to Canada, where it was still current at retail transactions, as well as for the purchase of grain and cattle, and for the payment of wages. It was, however, refused at the banks, and, as a consequence, the merchants, both wholesale and retail, had to sell their receipts to the brokers, who sold it over again to the grain buyers and manufac-

turers, it being estimated that for several years there changed hands in the city of Montreal alone, not less than eighty thousand dollars a day, not fewer than thirty brokers deriving the principal part of their income from this source.

This state of affairs soon led to meetings and discussions as to how the silver should be dealt with, and resolutions were carried recommending its being received at four per cent. discount, but, except in the city of Toronto, this agreement was never carried out. The merchants of the Lower Provinces had more sense, for they put the coins to eighty cents on the dollar, which saved them from further trouble. Montreal tried to follow Toronto, but the competition amongst the retail trade rendered all efforts nugatory, and large houses like Henry Morgan & Co. paid on an average forty dollars' discount on their daily receipts.

Appeals were finally made to Parliament to deal with the question, and in 1868 Sir John Rose, then Finance Minister, exported one million dollars through the Bank of Montreal, having previously prohibited its importation by a duty of twenty per cent. This shipment had little effect, and the merchants began to realize that the amount in circulation must be much larger than was generally supposed.

Early in 1869 I made arrangements with the principal merchants throughout Canada to export two million dollars at rates which, at the then price of silver in New York, would have yielded me a fair profit. Unfortunately, the Cuban war broke out, and

the discount on silver rose from $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 6 per cent., and my movement fell through. Later in the season I resumed the shipments with better results, for the discount had again fallen to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. That is, silver which was worth 94 cents in gold in the spring was worth $97\frac{1}{2}$ cents in the fall of 1869.

At this time a series of events led to more important results than I had anticipated. The Hon. John Rose, having failed to carry his Banking Bill (perhaps it would be more correct to say his and E. H. King's Banking Bill), which would have changed the whole Canadian banking system and crippled the banks, resigned his position to become the London partner of the banking firm of Morton, Rose & Co. Meantime, Sir Francis Hincks, who had returned to Canada, was offered, and had accepted the position of Finance Minister, he being rightly considered the most capable man in Canada to deal with the questions of banking and currency, questions then requiring a master mind to deal with them.

When in Hamilton in connection with my own shipments, I had occasion to call upon Mr. Adam Hope, who had formerly been the London (Ont.), partner of Buchanan, Harris & Co., but had removed to Hamilton and taken over the hardware branch of that firm's business. Mr. Hope was an old friend of Sir Francis Hincks, and told me to take his compliments to that gentleman and tell him that he had sent me, and that the whole mercantile community looked to him to back me up in riding the country of the Silver Nuisance. Taking Adam Hope's advice, I returned to Montreal and

wrote to Sir Francis, asking an interview. He did not wait to answer the letter, but sent me a telegram, asking me to come to Ottawa at my earliest convenience, and to report my arrival. I left by the first train, but as we had to travel by Prescott and the slow-going Ottawa and Prescott Railway (which still keeps up its reputation for slowness), the journey occupying nearly three times as long as it does now, I did not arrive till nearly eleven o'clock, and having sent in my card to Sir Francis, who, his secretary told me, had been waiting for me some time. I had not seen Sir Francis for over twenty years, and found him much changed; but the high forehead, sharp countenance and bright eye remained. The crisp, grey hair, almost white, with spectacles placed near the top of his head, told of the ravages of time on the iron frame of that once impetuous and fiery politician, who had been described to Lord Metcalfe "as the ablest man in the Cabinet, with a tongue that cut like a sword, and no discretion to keep it in order."

Being introduced to Sir Francis, he broached at once the subject I had come to discuss, by remarking that he thought we had taken a wrong course in moving to reduce the discount on an article we wished to drive out of the country. I told Sir Francis that the mercantile community were not blind to this apparent anomaly, but, except in the city of Toronto, all efforts had failed to bring the retail trade to receive and pay the United States silver coin at a rate lower than its face value, so that we had been trying to alleviate a disease we could not cure.

He admitted the justness of my remark, but told me the Government could not temporize in that way, and seemed to think that his predecessor had made a mistake in shipping a million dollars. I replied that till then no one had any idea of the quantity of United States silver coin in Canada, but that Mr. Rose had paved the way for a more effective measure that Parliament had authorized the Government to deal with the question and to fix by Proclamation the rate at which United States silver coin could be declared a legal tender. I explained that I was then exporting from twenty-five to thirty thousand dollars per week from as many cities and towns in Ontario and Quebec, that I had committees of the leading merchants assisting me, who would support any reasonable Government measure likely to remove the evil. Sir Francis then asked me to meet him at nine o'clock next morning, as, it being one o'clock, he had to attend a meeting of the Treasury Board.

Accustomed to the easy ways of those who bask in the sunshine of office, I found myself inside the Parliament grounds at ten minutes past nine, wondering how long I would have to wait for the Minister's arrival. To my surprise he was already at his desk, and, looking at his watch, remarked that I was ten minutes late. Acknowledging my fault, we continued to discuss the details for another hour, when he dictated the following letter to his secretary, a copy of which was handed to me as my authority for communicating with the banks and with those who were in correspondence with me on the subject.

“ Finance Department,
Ottawa, 14th Jany., 1870.

“ SIR,

“ With reference to the applicaion made by you both to my predecessor and myself for the assistance of the Government in the removal from circulation of the American silver coin, which has caused such serious inconvenience to the public during the last few years, I have, after giving my best consideration to the subject in connection with the resolutions adopted by the House of Commons during the last Session, arrived at the conclusion that if the co-operation of the banks and of the mercantile community can be secured, the removal of the American silver can be effected at a very moderate cost, which the Government may fairly be called upon to bear.

“ You are aware that my predecessor was deterred from continuing the purchase of American silver owing to the serious loss entailed on the Government by the first operation.

“ You are likewise, I have no doubt, aware that the House of Commons did not concur in that part of the report of the Select Committee which recommended that the plan adopted by the Government in 1868, ‘ or any other plan which the Government may deem proper,’ be again put in operation and carried on until an amount equal to \$5,000,000 shall have been withdrawn from circulation.

“ It is true that the House concurred in the resolution reported by the Committee that the ‘ intervention

of the Government had become necessary to remove the American silver from circulation,' but I should not, without the sanction of Parliament, feel disposed to adopt the course followed in 1868, even if I believed it would prove an effectual remedy for the evil complained of.

"I entertain no doubt in my own mind that the exportation of American silver, as hitherto carried on, can only mitigate, in a very trifling degree, the evil which is felt by the public.

"The only effectual remedy will be the substitution for the present depreciated silver currency of Canadian silver coins to be a legal tender to an amount not exceeding ten dollars. If such coins were issued in excess of the requirements of the public, they likewise would become depreciated, and there is a wide difference of opinion as to the amount which would be required to supply the void which would be created by the exportation of the American silver.

"I am prepared to recommend the Government to take immediate steps to procure from the Royal Mint a Canadian silver currency to an amount not exceeding \$1,000,000 in coins of 50 and 25 cents, to be a legal tender to the amount of ten dollars.

"It will take time to produce these coins, and it may be desirable, both as a test of the amount actually required, and to save time, that a fractional Dominion note currency should be issued, to be used in the purchase of American silver to whatever extent the public may choose.

"As these fractional notes would be redeemable in

gold, they could not suffer depreciation, nor could any excess remain in circulation. The actual requirements of the Dominion would be tested by the amount of fractional notes retained by the public, and to that extent the new silver coin might be introduced.

“It would be necessary, concurrently with the adoption of this measure, to declare by Proclamation, that after a certain day to be named, American silver would be a legal tender to the amount of ten dollars at reduced rates—probably twenty per cent. under its nominal value; and that, in the meantime, the Government would purchase all that might be offered at a moderate discount, which should not be less than four per cent.

“As you have been in communication on this subject, as well with the banks as with the commercial classes as with the Government, you will probably be able to ascertain whether the above proposal would be acceptable to them, and whether their cooperation could be relied on in carrying it into effect.

“It would be absolutely necessary that the exact cost should be settled before commencing operations; and, as you will have to confer with the banks, through one or more of which the operation would have to be carried out, you may be able to ascertain whether, in the event of a fractional note currency being resorted to, it should be in notes of 50 and 25 cents, or only in the latter denomination.

“I would likewise be glad to learn the opinion of

those best capable of judging whether the silver coins should be in the following proportions:—

50 cents	\$600,000
25 "	\$400,000
		<hr/>
		\$1,000,000

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
F. Hincks.

W. Weir, Esq.,
Montreal."

Having, on receipt of the above letter, interviewed the banks, as well as consulted my principal committees, I proceeded to Ottawa on the 26th of January and handed to Sir Francis the following reply, which, I suppose, must still be among the letters of the Finance Department.

" Montreal, 26th January, 1902.

" SIR,

" I reply to your letter of the 14th instant. I have the honour to state that the results of my conversations and communications with the banks and with those who have heretofore taken the most lively interest in the movement for the removal of the depreciated silver currency have been as follows:—

" 1. That the principal banks as well as the smaller institutions will, to the extent required, co-operate with the Government in removing the depreciated

silver coin to the extent of receiving, counting, paying for and forwarding to New York the said coin, at a nominal commission, not exceeding one-quarter of one per cent., payment to be made in gold on delivery in New York, the Government paying the freight on the silver.

“2. That the rate of discount at which the Government would be willing to receive the silver coin is regarded as of minor importance, the individual loss being so small. *The great point in the eyes of the commercial community* being to get the machinery for its removal set in motion, and a legal tender currency put in its place.

“3. That if such legislation is secured as will secure general conformity to the Proclamation, reducing the current value of the silver coin, Government may, if they choose, remove the depreciated currency without any charge upon the public treasury; but it would be more satisfactory to the country, and would greatly promote the success of the Government measure, if at least a portion of the coin was purchased from the public, at a rate of discount *not exceeding five per cent.*

“4. That a fractional note is generally distasteful to the banks, several of whose managers seem to think that no remedy can be applied to the Silver Nuisance till the return of specie payments in the United States. The same gentlemen readily admit that it would be a rash and dangerous act to attempt the removal of the large volume of United States silver coin now circulating in Canada, without making provision for the probable, but at the present

unascertained requirements of trade, probably far beyond any sum which the Government would be justified in coining.

"5. That the mercantile community is so desirous to secure the removal of the depreciated silver coin that any necessary measure not requiring the issue of an unredeemable or depreciated currency will receive their hearty support.

"6. That whether the fractional notes issued be of one or two denominations is not considered of much moment, but it is the general desire that they should be larger than the United States fractional notes, and have more the appearance of a bank note.

"7. That the relative quantity of half and quarter dollars, proposed to be coined, is considered correct by every banker and merchant to whom I have submitted the figures.

"8. That it is the opinion of all with whom I have conversed on the subject that some stringent measure will be required to insure the general adoption of the terms of the Proclamation proposed to be issued, fixing the legal tender value of United States and British silver coins.

"I have the honour to be,

Your obedient servant,

W. Weir."

"Hon. Sir Francis Hincks, C.B.,
Minister of Finance,
Ottawa."

At our second interview, when I pointed out to Sir Francis the probability of the large exports from Canada causing a decline in the price of silver in New York, he asked me if there was any way this expenditure could be met so as to reduce the cost to the Government, as the Lower Provinces might justly complain of any large expenditure to remove a nuisance which they had had the sense to avoid. My reply was to let the Government assume the one and two dollar note issue, and they would be amply recompensed for any expense incurred. He told me that Mr. Jack, of Halifax, had made the same suggestion, but he feared the banks would object. I replied, why should they object? They have no one and two dollar note circulation since the silver came in, and the removal of the United States silver would largely increase their note circulation. Later on he told me the bankers had agreed to relinquish the one and two dollar notes on the understanding that the Government would abandon the one per cent. tax on the note circulation. I do not know if this was a wise arrangement for the Government, but it looked so then, as the bank circulation was under ten millions.

As other details were left in my hands, I told Sir Francis the shipments must not begin till between one and two million dollars of one and two dollar notes, one million of silver coin and at least half a million of fractional notes had been prepared, pointing out to him the panic caused in England when the old silver was called in, so graphically described by Macaulay.

I found the Minister of Finance had not been idle

since my first visit. The silver had already been ordered from the Royal Mint, and the bank note engravers were engaged on the plates for the fractional note.

When we came to fix the date at which the exportation of the coin should begin, Sir Francis sent for Mr. John Langton, then Auditor-General, and asked him how long it would take to sign one million dollars of one and two dollar notes. After some mental calculation, the Auditor replied:—

“It would take a clerk so many weeks,” when Sir Francis, who introduced his next question with some highly ornamental words, which I need not repeat (for he could swear as beautifully as the ladies of Queen Elizabeth’s court), exclaimed, “could you not employ fifty clerks, if necessary?” The slow-going Auditor having got this through his wool, it was found that all could be arranged for the end of March, and Sir Francis proposed to begin on the first of April to receive the silver. But a strong opposition existed in Montreal of brokers and opponents of the Government, who hoped, by defeating the silver measure, to destroy the Finance Minister’s *prestige*. I pointed out that nothing would expose us to more ridicule than to be called *April fools*, and he fixed the date at the fifteenth of April. (I should here make an exception of the *Montreal Witness*, which, although supporting the other side, gave the Government measure its hearty support, and I am only sorry that, in spite of its founder’s respect for that *great protectionist*, *Horace Greeley*, it still holds heretical views on the tariff question.)

Some of the views expressed at that time would furnish curious reading to-day, but I have only room to give in the appendix the letter of the Montreal Board of Trade, under the presidency of J. H. Winn. Under what inspiration the Board was hoaxed to publish such a letter I never inquired, being too busy with more serious matters.

But to resume my history. When all details were arrayed, Sir Francis dictated another letter, which he addressed to the banks and Boards of Trade, and which called forth the foolish letter of the Montreal Board. This letter read as follows:—

CHAPTER XV.

"CIRCULAR.

"Finance Department, Ottawa,
27th January, 1870.

"SIR,

"Mr. William Weir, of Montreal, has, for some time back, been in correspondence both with my predecessor and myself, on the subject of obtaining the assistance of the Government in the removal from circulation of the American silver coin, which has long been the cause of considerable loss to the public. Mr. Weir has assured me that several of the leading banks will be prepared to co-operate with the Government in any well considered measure which they may adopt for effecting the object, and you are doubtless well aware that the intervention of the Government was authorized by the House of Commons during the last Session of Parliament. I have this day acquainted Mr. Weir with the arrangements which, in my judgment, will be necessary in order to effect the permanent removal of the American silver coin.

"I propose that a Proclamation should be issued, declaring that, after a day to be fixed, American silver shall be a legal tender in amount not exceeding ten dollars at rates considerably below the real value of the coin, viz.:—50, 25, 10 and 5 cent coins, at the respective rates of 40, 20, 8 and 4 cents.

"The day to be fixed will be sufficiently distant to

enable the public to get rid of the coin by exportation, and the Government itself will receive three million dollars at the following rates of discount, viz., five per cent. on the first million, five and one-half on the second million, and six per cent. on the third million.

“ It has been proposed that a penalty should be imposed on all persons who shall pay American silver after the date of the Proclamation at higher rates than those authorized by the law. This, of course, would require legislation, and one reason, among others, for acting promptly in the matter is, that the effect of the Proclamation may be experienced before the close of the approaching Session of Parliament. I think it better at present merely to observe that the question of legislating with a view of preventing any imposition on the labouring classes will not fail to engage the attention of the Government.

“ In order to supply the void which will be caused by the removal of the American silver, it has been determined that a new Canadian coinage should be struck at the Royal Mint, and application has already been made for the coinage of fifty and twenty-five cent pieces to the extent of one million dollars.

“ As, however, it is undesirable to order more silver than is necessary to supply the requirements of the public, and as it is difficult to estimate the extent of those requirements, as, moreover, the coin cannot be delivered for a considerable time, I propose recommending the temporary issue of Dominion fractional notes of twenty-five cents, which, of course will be redeemable, like other Dominion notes, in gold, when presented in sums of five dollars. No effort will be

used to force these notes into circulation, but ample facilities be given to the public for obtaining them, and equally ample facilities will be given for replacing them with the fractional silver coins, whenever these shall have been received from England.

“ Mr. Weir has assured me that some of the leading banks have already promised their co-operation in carrying the foregoing arrangements into effect, and that they will undertake for a commission of a quarter of one per cent. to receive from him, or his agents, American silver in sums of from \$50 to \$1,000, and to deliver it in sums to the purchaser, in exchange for gold, all charges for freight to be paid by the Government.

“ I presume the banks which may enter into the arrangement will have no objection to receive on deposit, at their various agencies, the fractional notes for distribution to the postmasters or other Government agents who may be employed to supply the requirements of the public.

“ Mr. Weir has assured me that he will communicate with the various banks which may afford their co-operation, and make all the necessary arrangements to prevent their being subjected to inconvenience in receiving and delivering the silver.

“ I shall feel obliged by your acquainting me at your earliest convenience whether the bank which you represent will consent to co-operate on the terms stated, in the removal of the American silver.

“ I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

F. Hincks,

Minister of Finance.”

On my return to Montreal I called a meeting of those interested in the removal of the depreciated silver coin, which was held in the Corn Exchange building on the 1st of February, 1870, Mr. Ira Gould in the chair.

I explained to the meeting that in discussing the question with the Finance Minister I had kept three things constantly in view:—

1st. The removal of the depreciated silver coin.

2nd. Supplying its place with a sufficient but not redundant supply of Canadian silver made a legal tender to the extent of ten dollars:—

3rd. To effect the changes proposed in the currency without disturbing, to any serious extent, the business of the country. That the only points on which opinions differed were the fractional note and that of legislation to enforce the Proclamation. I explained that there need be no trouble about the fractional note, as it would be merely held in reserve and not called into circulation unless the supply of the new silver coin proved insufficient. As to legislation, I explained that the Finance Minister had promised, if necessary, to provide that the wages of labour should not be paid in the United States silver coin, except at its legal value of eighty cents to the dollar, but that he did not think that would be necessary, although most people thought differently.

My friends were of course delighted at the prospect of getting rid of the silver trouble, but, thinking the victory won, only between thirty and forty merchants attended the meeting; on the other hand, there was a large attendance of brokers and political

opponents of the Government bent on destroying Sir Francis Hincks' *prestige* as Minister of Finance, and the majority of the meeting was against us. At this point John Dougall, founder of the *Witness*, who never allowed his political leanings to get above good sense, rose in the midst of much noise, and in his usual quiet and earnest manner made such a clear and sensible appeal to the good sense of the meeting as seemed to meet general approval. He then moved, seconded by Henry Thomas, head of the firm of Thomas Thibaudeau & Co., and a director of the Bank of Montreal: "That this meeting is glad to learn that the Dominion Government propose to grapple with the question of the depreciated currency, and, having heard the proposal of the Finance Minister, expresses its general approval of the same without committing itself to all the details, and recommends the commercial public to co-operate with the Government in carrying out any well digested plan for bringing our whole currency to a gold basis."

Our opponents were evidently bent on mischief, but after Mr. Dougall's speech evidently changed their tactics, and only found fault with the penal clause, the fractional notes, and my connection with the movement, which was a sore point with several hangers-on of the Government. Mr. Thos. Workman's amendment, drawn and seconded by a broker, read as follows:

"That while generally approving of the importance of adopting just and proper measures for the removal of the superabundance of American silver,

this meeting must express its entire dissent from some of the modes proposed by the Hon. the Finance Minister to attain that end, namely, the penal clause and the proposed issue of fractional notes; and this meeting would suggest that the banks communicate directly with the Government on the whole subject."

This amendment was put after some further discussion, and there was difficulty in deciding whether it was lost or carried, the chairman finally deciding that it was carried, and after a vote of thanks to the chairman and to myself the meeting adjourned.

But the battle was not yet won, so far as Montreal was concerned, for the brokers and their friends held meetings and formed an organization to buy up all the silver offered at lower than the Government rate; hoping by that means to prevent the coin from being delivered to the Government at five per cent. discount. Meantime I was not idle. A liberal allowance had been made me for advertising, and in addition to advertising in the leading newspapers, that, after the fifteenth of April, the legal rate of United States silver would be 80c. per dollar, 40c. per half dollar, 20c. per quarter dollar, 8c. per dime and 4c. per half dime. I issued some 40,000 circulars to be posted up in Hotels, Railway Stations and other places of public resort, stating the same thing. At the same time Sir George E. Cartier, the joint leader of the Government, had asked the Roman Catholic Bishops to notify their people through their clergy of the Government's proclamation. Ten banks and sixty bank agencies were engaged to attend to

receiving and shipping the coin. Strong hand-made linen bags and even tag strings and sealing wax were furnished to each agency, with printed instructions so plain that they could not be misunderstood. Arrangements were made with the express companies to carry the coin to New York, and with the agents of the Bank of Montreal to store and dispose of it. The banks handling the silver received each a deposit of from \$50,000 to \$100,000 from the Government, so as not to be out of their own funds while the coin was in transit, were paid for the coin on delivery in New York, besides one-quarter of one per cent. commission, and the additional advantage of paying for a large part of it in their own notes, so that the bank note circulation, which stood under eight million dollars when the shipments began, had gone \$15,000,000 at their close.

Meantime, the brokers continued their efforts to defeat the action of the Government. The proposal to issue a fractional note commonly called a *shinplaster* was seized upon to raise a popular outcry against the Government, and placards headed "*shinplasters*" were posted at every corner. "Who is the man?" Hincks!! "Smother him in his dirty *shinplasters*," etc. Then an agreement was got up, signed by a few wholesale and a large number of retail dealers, agreeing to take United States silver at par in spite of the Government's proclamation.

As the fifteenth of April drew near there was great anxiety in my family, fearing that I might be kidnapped or worse, as I had to be out late answering telegrams from outside points, as shipments

were to be made at every place of importance between Sarnia and Quebec. Mr. Andrew Robertson, head of the firm of Robertson, Stephen & Co., offered me an asylum at his residence on Dorchester street till the danger was over, but I declined his kind offer, not only because I did not wish to leave my own family, but also because telegrams asking for instructions often came to hand during the night, and I do not think that a single message night or day found me absent from my post. This may seem an exaggeration, but will be understood when it is remembered that nearly thirty brokers were living principally by this silver nuisance, and that many manufacturers and grain cattle buyers were making from fifty to one hundred dollars per week by using silver.

On and after the fifteenth of April, the coin began to flow freely into the banks at all points east and west of Montreal, but for a week at least the brokers in Montreal managed to keep the discount under five per cent., and while the principal houses delivered the coin for exportation, many retail dealers sold to the brokers. When I learned how the deliveries were being made at outside points I had no fear of the result, and told my friends not to be uneasy, for when the Roman Catholic Bishops and John Dougall pulled together, success was certain. And so it happened. Those who had bank accounts only called at my office for warrants and delivered the coin at their own banks, while those who had no bank account delivered the coin at my office, where it was promptly counted and paid for. Very

soon the habitants got alarmed, and by seven in the morning their carts extended for fifty yards on each side of our office. It was all up with the brokers, who found themselves with over two hundred thousand dollars of silver coin on hand which nobody wanted, while Government shipments had closed the New York market against them. After paying interest on this silver for some months I issued warrants through a couple of mutual friends for the Government to take it over, the owners not caring, under the circumstances, to deal with me directly.

When the shipments had reached the limit of three millions, the Government decided to continue the exportation for a limited time, at the old rate, before advancing the discount to six per cent., and the supply became exhausted when a little over five million dollars had been sent in for export. This was all in half and quarter dollar pieces. The smaller coins, amounting to over half a million dollars, I exported at my own risk, and as business in Cuba had been resumed, these coins were sold at a good profit. I also exported to England a considerable quantity of English shillings, which yielded little profit, but was effected without loss.

When nearly three million and a half dollars had been sent to New York, that market was glutted and the balance was shipped to England and sold as bullion, the price of silver at that time being such that this was effected without much loss.

The total cost to the Government in handling, storing and selling the United States silver coin, including my commissions, all expenses for bad and

defaced coins, etc., etc., was in round figures \$118,000, which was soon made up by the profits on the new coinage, which profits have been doubled and trebled since silver bullion fell from \$1.40 to under 60 cents an ounce.

My reason for recommending that the Government should assume the one and two dollar notes was that these notes were generally in the hands of poor and ignorant people who created "runs" on the banks on the slightest alarm, and the results have shown the wisdom of the step.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE COPPER CURRENCY.

After the silver question had been settled, it was in order to deal with the copper currency, which was also in a most unsatisfactory condition. Except a small amount of Canadian cents, used to pay postage and some new British copper coinage used for the same purpose, the whole copper currency in use consisted of bank pennies and half pennies which were current at the rate of sixty and one hundred and twenty pieces to the dollar respectively. There were also in circulation a large quantity of mixed copper coins of almost every country in Europe and America, besides tokens of all kinds down to brass buttons, which, if not in too great numbers, also passed current. How to deal with this mixed currency was the question to be solved, for it was surely absurd, after the decimal currency had been established for twelve years, that the copper coinage should still be reckoned in pence and shillings, requiring one hundred and twenty coppers instead of one hundred cents to the dollar.

Sir Francis wrote to me stating that the Government had on hand a large quantity of copper coin which it had taken over with the other assets of the Bank of Upper Canada, and suggesting that these and the copper coins issued by the Bank of Montreal, the City Bank and La Banque du Peuple.

should pass as cents for the pennies, and half cents for the half pence. I replied strongly opposing such a step and telling Sir Francis that farthings had gone out of use almost everywhere, and that even the close-fisted people of Aberdeen were getting ashamed of anything below a halfpenny. I suggested instead that all the halfpenny bank tokens should pass as cents and the penny tokens as two cents, which would increase instead of diminish the value of every one's holdings, including what the Government itself held, all coins not accepted as cents to be treated as spurious and refused. Sir Francis saw at once that my plan was the better one and intimated his willingness to assist in carrying it out by seeing that the Post-Office and Custom House authorities would co-operate with the general public to that end.

My next move was to get wood cuts made of the coins which were to be received as cents and two cents, which I sent to the leading newspapers of Ontario and Quebec. All were to be benefited by the change and willingly lent their aid. Here again the Montreal *Witness* took the lead, not only printing the wood cuts in its columns, but throwing off and distributing thousands of flysheets which were used everywhere, and familiarized the public with the new order of things.

As no one had an interest in opposing this change in the copper currency, the proposed changes went into operation without friction and without one dollar's expense to the Government, for the wood cuts were paid for by me, and the newspapers in-

served them without charge. Thus passed away the last remnant of the Halifax pounds, shillings and pence currency and the *trente sous* became a thing of the past.

On the first page of the *Witness*, on the first of October, 1870, appeared a conspicuous advertisement, publishing the two following letters with the woodcuts mentioned in the text:—

“Ottawa, 9th September, 1870.

“Sir,

“The Government has had under its consideration for some time back, the great inconvenience felt by the public owing to the state of the copper currency. While the public accounts are kept in dollars and cents and all duties of customs, excise and stamps collected in that currency, a great portion of the copper coins in circulation are bank tokens issued under the authority of law, but not a legal tender, and passing generally current as pennies and half-pennies of the old currency. It was deemed expedient to delay taking action regarding the copper currency until after the receipt of a sufficient quantity of the Canadian silver coins of ten and five cents. That supply having been obtained, it has been decided by the Government, pending the action of Parliament, to authorize the various receivers of the public revenues to take the copper tokens of the various chartered banks issued under the authority of law, at one and two cents respectively, in sums not exceeding 25 cents, and I have to express the hope that the chartered banks and several Boards of Trade and the mercantile community generally

will co-operate with the Government in their endeavour to secure a uniform copper currency.

"I may observe that other copper coins are in general currency, the circulation of which is forbidden by the law under penalties. With these coins it is impossible to deal without the authority of Parliament and it is not probable that, even if they should be called in at public expense, they would be paid for at more than $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ cent each. The Government cannot authorize the reception of these coins at any rate, and the propriety of issuing a proclamation warning the public of their illegality has been under consideration. It has, however, been deemed expedient to await the action of Parliament on the subject, and I venture to suggest, either that these base coins should be refused altogether, or received only as fractional parts of a cent. I avail myself of this opportunity to request the co-operation of the banks and the public in withdrawing from circulation the 20 cent. silver coin, all of which the Government are prepared to redeem, it having been ascertained that the 25 cent. coin is more convenient for the public.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

F. HINCKS,

Minister of Finance."

W. WEIR, ESQ.,

Montreal.

Montreal, 28th Sept., 1870.

"Dear Sir,

"A very general desire having been expressed

that Government would take steps to put the copper currency in harmony with the decimal system now in general use, the Hon. the Finance Minister has addressed a circular to the banks and Boards of Trade (a copy of which is herewith sent), by which it will be seen that it is proposed to effect the desired change in a very simple and expeditious manner.

“On and after the first of October next, the penny and half-penny tokens issued by the banks will be current at the post-offices, custom houses and other Government offices, to the extent of twenty-five cents, at the rate of two cents and one cent respectively, and I believe there is no doubt that the banks will adopt the same regulations. It only remains for the mercantile community to support heartily and promptly this measure of the Government in order to effect the removal of the last remnant of a depreciated currency.

“I would, therefore, respectfully suggest that the mercantile community in various parts of the country should take immediate steps, either by public meetings or otherwise, to act in unison with the Government and the banks in this matter.

“It will be seen that it is not the intention of the Government to purchase at any price the old foreign and colonial copper coins which will not hereafter be taken by the banks or public offices. Any small loss on these coins will, therefore, have to be borne by the holders. As, however, about three-fourths of the copper coins in circulation will be taken at 100 instead of 120 to the dollar, as heretofore, the loss on the rejected pieces will be very small.

“I need scarcely say that the complete success of the recent effort to secure a uniform decimal copper currency will greatly depend upon the co-operation of the public in refusing all copper coins not received by the Government and the banks. If these coins continue to be given and received in change, the object of the Government will be partially defeated. It is also to be hoped that those mercantile establishments which continue to keep their accounts in pounds, shillings and pence will at once change their system of dollars and cents. For the benefit of those not familiar with the copper tokens to be used as cents, I have procured fac-similes of these tokens.

I am, yours respectfully,

W. WEIR.”

I bought up at the price of brass and sent to the melting-pot a considerable quantity of the rejected copper currency, but the great bulk of it soon found its way to the countries to which the coins belonged.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE UNITED STATES AND CANADIAN SILVER COINS.

The United States silver coin now in circulation in Canada has become considerable, and will, in time, require to be dealt with. But as the Government is the only sufferer, nobody else need move in the matter. It may, however, be well to point out that at the present price of silver bullion the American quarter dollar is only worth about ten cents, and as it is redeemable at the sub-Treasury in New York in gold, there is a chance for Mr. Fielding to make some money by calling it all in and replacing it with Canadian silver.

And this brings up the question of dealing with the Canadian coins. Some time ago Mr. Clouston, of the Bank of Montreal, expressed a fear that Canadian silver might become redundant, and in view of the fact that the quantity in circulation varies largely at different seasons of the year, this redundancy will, no doubt, be felt before many years. This, however, is a matter easily remedied. All the Government has to do is to follow the example of the United States and redeem its silver on demand. Even if this were done very little would be sent in for redemption, as the banks would hold it as part of their reserves. The fact that it could be redeemed on presentation would prevent the banks from

refusing it, and so relieve the public of the danger of its going to a discount. In any case the Government will soon have to deal with worn and defaced coins, as is done in the United States, and now that the Mint is being established there can be no excuse for delay.

As I have been dealing in exchange for over fifty-five years, it may be supposed that my views on a Canadian gold coinage would be of value.

As there is no profit in coining gold, the only question seems to be whether Canada can afford to add to her dignity and national importance by having her own coinage. As the United States gold dollar is the unit of our currency, the Canadian gold coinage would require to be eagles and double eagles, the smaller coins being no longer wanted. The precise weight in gold of the coinage would require to equal that of the United States, with ten per cent. alloy, as in the American coins, instead of seven per cent., as in the sovereign. The sovereign and United States coins might still remain a legal tender as at present.

As this volume goes to press, I see it is stated that the Canadian Mint is to be a Branch of the Royal Mint. Whether it will confine itself (as in Australia) to coining sovereigns and half sovereigns, I do not know, but, if so, it will be of little value to Canada beyond creating a demand for some Canadian gold, which would be just as valuable in bullion as in coin, the profits on the silver and bronze coinage being the only items to yield a revenue, either to the Mint or to the Canadian Government.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CANADIAN BANKING SYSTEM.

The attempt to change the Canadian banking system began in 1866, when an Act was passed providing that Canadian banks could deposit Canadian securities with the Government and receive an equal amount of Government notes, having the name of the bank to which such notes would be issued stamped upon them, and which notes the bank would redeem and treat as its own notes; and being paid by the Government a commission not exceeding five per cent., or such smaller remuneration as might be agreed upon. The Bank of Montreal alone took advantage of this Act, and relinquished its own circulation for that of the Government; so that by 1868 almost its entire circulation had been withdrawn.

The other banks not following suit, a more drastic measure was brought before Parliament in 1869, by the then Minister of Finance, Hon. John Rose (afterwards Sir John Rose), by which it was proposed to introduce a banking measure similar to the national banking system of the United States. Mr. Rose introduced his banking measure on the 14th May, 1869, and in doing so referred to the several banking laws of the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and to the necessity of a uniform Act covering the whole Dominion—to the unsatisfactory system existing in the United

States before Chase introduced the National Bank Act of 1863, before which time some fourteen hundred banks were issuing notes, and people had to be constantly referring to a detector before accepting the notes of distant States to discover their value. He then referred to the National Bank currency of that country, and explained that the Government proposed gradually to introduce a similarly secured currency into Canada. He proposed that in 1872 the banks should convert twenty per cent. of their circulation into notes secured by a deposit of a like amount of Government bonds, and twenty per cent. every year thereafter, so that in 1876 the whole circulation would be secured.

Such was the measure that set the banking "heather on fire." The Bank of Montreal, cautious and non-committal as usual, said nothing, although it was generally believed that E. H. King assisted Mr. Rose in preparing the measure. It was understood that the conservative, Mr. Paton, of the Bank of British North America, favoured the Bill, although his bank had not adopted the Act of 1866. It had, however, availed itself of a previous Act to issue one and two dollar notes, which it could not do under its Imperial charter.

The other banks, many of which had just begun their careers, alive to the threatened danger, were up in arms against this revolutionary measure which they considered uncalled for and ill-adapted to the condition of the country. Meetings were held, newspapers interviewed and letters written to the Press against this radical interference with the

privileges of the banks. Members of Parliament were interviewed and told if such a measure passed they and their constituents would be called upon to meet their notes at maturity, which few of them expected or were able to do.

An important meeting of bankers was held in the Merchants' Bank, Montreal, on the fourteenth of April, at which Hon. John Simpson, with Messrs. Lewin, Stevenson, Jack and Hague, were appointed to wait upon the Finance Minister and lay the views of the bankers generally before him. Another meeting was held at Ottawa on the 1st of May, 1869, at which were present:—

George Hague, of Bank of Toronto
Wm. McMaster, of Bank of Commerce
Thos. Woodside, of Royal Canadian Bank
S. Stevenson, of Quebec Bank
Mr. Taché, of Molsons Bank
Mr. Lewin, of Bank of New Brunswick
Peter Jack, of Bank of Nova Scotia.

The Merchants' Bank and the other Montreal banks were represented by the gentlemen mentioned above. These gentlemen drew up a series of resolutions pointing out that the ability of the Canadian banks to assist their customers would be largely impaired by the proposed changes, and that no necessity existed calling for such a drastic measure.

Mr. Rose, clever lawyer that he was, made out a pretty strong case, but it was no use. The Scottish banks, after which those of Canada were modelled,

had not abandoned their note issues, and why should Canada be asked to do so? It was fortunate for Canada that she had men like Mr. Hague and Mr. Stevenson to stand in the breach. The defects of the United States' national currency have long been felt, whilst Canadian banks have expanded with and largely assisted the growth of the country. And her currency to-day is felt to be as secure as that of the United States.

A draft of the measure had been furnished to the banks some time before its introduction, as will have been seen by the date of the bankers' meetings, and, when Mr. Rose introduced his measure, Mr. L. H. Holton moved, seconded by Alexander Mackenzie:—

“That such radical changes in the long established banking system of the country as are proposed in the resolution now before the House should not be made without mature deliberation in Parliament and an opportunity being offered for full consideration by the country, but inasmuch as it is not contemplated that the proposed changes should take effect before the 1st of July, 1871, it is expedient to postpone the further consideration of the subject until next Session.”

As this resolution expressed the views of a majority of the House, and exposed the Government to another *double shuffle*, a Government supporter moved an amendment to the amendment: “That this House recognizes the importance of a uniform system of currency, but inasmuch as immediate uniformity cannot be obtained, it is expedient to extend

the charters of the banks about to expire for such a period as Parliament may decide."

The discussion was continued on this amendment and finally adjourned till the 15th of June, when Mr. Rose announced the withdrawal of his resolutions. "The House," he said, "would remember that when the resolutions were introduced the Government stated that they were desirous of giving every opportunity, both to the House and to the community, to correctly judge and appreciate their bearings. The Government believed then, as they believe now, that the opinion of the country was in favour of a uniform and safe currency. They had no desire to force the consideration of the resolutions upon the House during the present Session, but rather to allow the country to consider them maturely, believing that the country would come to the same conclusions as the Government. All they would do now would be to extend some charters which expired in January to the end of June and thereafter to the end of the next Session of Parliament. He then announced the withdrawal of his resolutions. Thus by the timely and energetic action of the banks was the country saved from what would have been the greatest disaster that could have befallen it at that time.

But Mr. Rose's prestige was gone; he had declined to take further action to remove the depreciated silver, and had introduced a banking measure to make bad worse. The country, particularly the Province of Ontario, had become sick of such helplessness, and Mr. Rose, being, like Mr. Cayley, a proud and sensitive man, soon retired from the Government,

to become the London partner of the banking house of Morton, Rose & Co.

As already stated, Sir Francis Hincks became Minister of Finance in the autumn of 1869. The whole scheme of a national currency was set aside, the Bank Act renewed with but little change beyond the Government's assuming the one and two dollar notes, and waiving the one per cent. tax on the circulation.

Thus within one year of his return to Canada, that wonderful man, in addition to his former services, swept away the banking muddle and the silver and copper nuisances, and yet no monument has been erected anywhere to his memory. Where is the merchant poet of Hamilton who promised him a *silver monument* if he removed the silver nuisance? Ah! How soon past services are forgotten?

The bank charters have been thrice renewed since, but the only important changes have been to provide a fund to secure the circulation, and the still more important measure which places the affairs of a suspended bank under the supervision of the Bankers' Association, a measure which, had it been adopted sooner, would have saved many thousands of dollars to unfortunate shareholders and depositors, as well as to the Government in prosecuting the innocent with the guilty.

In connection with the reference to the United States' national bank currency, it may not be out of place to quote a letter addressed by me to the president and members of Congress of the United States nine years ago. The letter read as follows:—

“To the President, the Honorable Members of the Senate and Members of the House of Representatives of the United States :

“GENTLEMEN,—Having had business relations with the people of the United States during the last forty-four years, I trust it will not be considered out of place for me, an outsider, to discuss the financial situation now existing in your country, and to propose changes in your banking system, which, in my judgment, would go far to relieve your money market and restore confidence even before the silver question had been finally disposed of.

“It is a remarkable fact that the United States which has ever been distinguished for the readiness with which it adopts all kinds of improvements in industrial pursuits, clings to a system of banking under which no other country that I know of could carry on its business. Your National Bank Act, originated under entirely different conditions, is now wholly unsuited to the requirements of your commerce of to-day. The basis of your bank currency is being continually contracted, while your business calls for continual expansion; and, even if there were no Sherman Act and no Free Coinage Act to disturb your finances, the very cast iron and non-elastic nature of your banking system would periodically create a scarcity of money whenever the demands of the West or of the South called for currency to handle the crops.

“I am aware that in the memory of the people of the United States painful recollections of the in-

secure character of the old State Bank currency still linger. But the example of Canada, a much poorer country, should be sufficient to satisfy your people that a more elastic note circulation can by prudent safeguards be made perfectly secure. Canada, under her admirable banking system, experiences no extra pressure when currency is required to handle her crops. The bank circulation expands, and there is no strain upon the resources of the banks to buy bonds on which to base the circulation. In fact, the greater the demand for currency, the easier the money market, and, as the circulation returns, its redemption is met by the realization of the products for which it was advanced.

“I state, without fear of contradiction by any experienced Canadian banker, that if Canada to-day were placed under the National Bank Act of the United States, our financial condition would be worse than that of the United States, although we have no silver question to disturb our finances.

“Without further introduction, I would suggest as a measure of immediate relief that Congress pass an amendment to its Bank Acts, even before coming to a decision on the silver question, of which the following should be the leading features:

“All chartered banks in the United States, whose capital and surplus amount together to \$1,000,000 and upwards, shall be declared to be banks of issue, and be authorized to issue circulating notes of the denominations of five, ten, twenty, fifty and one hundred dollars to the extent of half their capital and surplus, such issues to be a first lien upon the assets

of the bank in case of its suspension, the issue to be free from any Federal or State Tax, but to be liable to an assessment of not more than one per cent. per annum, should such be required to redeem the notes of a suspended bank.

“ Banks of issue to be obliged to keep one-half their cash reserves in Treasury notes of the United States—that is to say, the Treasury note reserves shall always be equal to the gold and silver reserves of such banks of issue. This latter obligation, which exists in Canada in a modified form, would add largely to the gold reserves of the United States Treasury, without in any way impairing the strength of the banks of issue.

“ A third provision should authorize banks of issue to establish branches in various parts of the country if they deemed it advisable so to do, limiting the number of branches to one for each hundred thousand dollars of capital and surplus.

“ A careful revision of the Canadian Bank Act is made every ten years, and while amendments are in order at any Session of Parliament, no important change of the law is favoured except at the decennial revision. The Act which I suggest might be for a shorter period, but should be of sufficiently long duration to warrant the banks in making the change.

“ The immediate adoption of such a measure would, in my judgment, remove within twenty-four hours the present stringency in your money market and the difficulty of obtaining currency as effectually as the suspension of the English Bank Act limiting

the issues of the Bank of England has on more than one occasion allayed the panics in the London market.

“While this would be a measure of immediate relief, it is not on this ground alone that I recommend its adoption. The want of elasticity in your present system causes dear money, when cheap money to handle the crops is more than ever required.

“The adoption of this policy would not necessarily involve the repeal of the National Bank Act, nor call for any interference with it whatever, but would, no doubt, as was the case in Canada, lead to the gradual reduction of the issues under that Act, while I have no doubt that many of the smaller National Banks would, in time, be absorbed as branches of the banks of issue, thus strengthening the whole banking system of the United States.

“Twenty years ago some of the most eminent financiers of Canada, including the late Sir Francis Hincks, favoured the establishment of banks with small capital, but that gentleman later in life admitted publicly, and to myself personally, that his opinion on this point had entirely changed, and, by the Canadian Bank Act of 1890, no bank can go into operation without a subscribed capital of \$500,000 and a *bona fide* paid-up capital deposited with the Government of \$250,000. When the bank has appointed its directors and is prepared to commence operations, this capital is handed over to its management.

“I need scarcely add that the adoption of an Act such as I suggest would leave Congress in a

position to discuss the silver question more leisurely and dispassionately than can well be done under the pressure that now exists.

I have the honor to remain,

Mr. President and gentlemen,

Your most obedient servant,

W. WEIR."

CHAPTER XIX.

THE DOUBLE SHUFFLE.

I have already referred to and explained what was understood by the "Double Majority," and it is now in order to explain what is meant by the "Double Shuffle." To enable Ministers of the Crown to change from one portfolio to another without being obliged to resign their seats and go before their constituents for re-election, a law was passed over fifty years ago by which Ministers could change places in the Cabinet within so many days without being obliged to resign their seats. The value of this law was lately seen in the case of the recently appointed Minister of Public Works. This change might be called a shuffle, *but it was not a double shuffle*. It required a genius like the "Wizard of the North," Sir John A. Macdonald, or Sir George Cartier, to execute that shuffle gracefully.

After the adjustment of the Tariff of 1858, there still remained the Seat of Government Question to be disposed of, or rather the confirmation of the Queen's decision in favour of Ottawa. When this question came before the House, Mr. Piché, a jolly-looking little Frenchman, who represented Berthier, moved that the House did not approve of Her Majesty's decision in favour of Ottawa, which the

Government had recommended the House to accept. On a vote being taken, it was found that both the East and the West voted against Ottawa, and the Government was defeated by a vote of 64 to 50. Mr. Brown, the leader of the Opposition, immediately moved the adjournment of the House, as a want of confidence motion, but the House did not regard the vote in that light, and defeated Mr. Brown's motion by a vote 61 to 50.

The Government, however, considered itself bound to sustain the Queen's decision, and next morning tendered their resignations to Sir Edmund W. Head, then Governor-General.

Here two gentlemen blundered. The Governor-General should not have called upon Mr. Brown as he did, without deciding to grant him a dissolution; and Mr. Brown, seeing that a majority of the House was against him, should not have accepted the task of forming an Administration until assured of a dissolution.

Who was most to blame has often been discussed. For my part, I think His Excellency was most to blame, and in this view I only follow the example of the wise Caliph, who, when two offenders were brought before him, one charged with saluting a handsome young lady, and the other with a similar offence against an old and plain one, discharged the one who had been tempted by the young lady's beauty, but punished him who had done wrong without temptation. Mr. Brown had a strong inducement to accept the task. The Governor had no such excuse, and unless he intended to grant a

dissolution, should have sent for Mr. Galt at once, as he afterwards did. But all this is not explaining the *double shuffle*. Have patience, reader, I am just coming to that. When George Brown and his Ministers were sworn in and the Governor-General had refused them a dissolution, the House declared its want of confidence in the new Ministry, and, after three days in office, it resigned. Mr. Galt was called upon to form a Ministry, and, of course, called upon the members of the old Ministry to resume their places in the new combination. But there was a difficulty. To have taken their old places would have involved their going to the country for re-election, and this they wished to avoid. The thirty days during which they could change places not having expired, they decided to accept other portfolios, and having been sworn into one office, did not wait even for a day to resign and be again sworn into their old places, all except Mr. Galt, who, having taken Mr. Cayley's place, had to go before his constituents for re-election. It was this double swearing that constituted the double shuffle. It may have been legal, but was, nevertheless, disgraceful, but George E. Cartier, who had become Premier, faced the House as bravely as his namesake had faced the Atlantic Ocean, and announced the changes without a blush or a smile. William Lyon Mackenzie, his fellow "patriot" of 1838, created considerable amusement by exclaiming, "Never was a farce better played." Mr. Cartier's remarks were, however, well received, particularly when he announced that "the operations of the new tariff would be closely watched and re-adjusted from

time to time, with a view to maintain the public revenue, to uphold the Provincial credit, and incidentally to encourage native industry and domestic manufactures." This was the first time the policy of *protection* was recognized by any Canadian Government, for politicians were still on the fence watching which way the (political) cat would jump.

Nobody regarded, or indeed could regard, the double shuffle as anything but disgraceful, but as the whole proceedings of the Governor-General and George Brown were looked upon as little else than a farce, this second farce, as Mackenzie called it, was but lightly regarded in many quarters, although it furnished a good subject for the Opposition papers to dwell upon for many a day.

CHAPTER XX.

LAND SPECULATIONS—THE OPENING OF WESTERN AVENUE.

In 1873, before the "land boom" struck Montreal, I bought ninety thousand feet of land on Metcalfe Avenue at seven cents a foot. I was induced to make this purchase by a clear headed Irishman from Boston, who had made the tour of the city and had come to the conclusion that any one investing money in the West End would double it in a short time, and so it turned out.

Metcalfe Avenue then extended from Sisson's Lane (now St. Catherine Street), halfway to the Cote St. Antoine Road, with two solitary houses upon it near the upper end. The Upper Lachine Road could only be reached by going up St. Antoine Road and turning down St. Luke Road near the church at Notre Dame de Grace.

A year after my purchase, the real estate "boom," having exhausted itself in Toronto, struck Montreal, and I could have sold my small block at three times its cost, but did not do so. West of Green Avenue the Grey Nuns sold to the Voligny Drummond Syndicate a large block at twenty-five cents a foot, having some years before sold the more valuable land on Green Avenue at ten cents.

West of the Nun's property, the late John Monk sold to W. A. Curry a property for eighty thousand

dollars, for which he had paid some four thousand some years before. On this property Mr. Curry laid out Kensington Avenue down to my property, but had no outlet. Further West, Mr. Francis Dolan purchased the St. Germain property, and laid out Dolan Avenue, now Lansdowne Avenue.

Then Mr. E. Hudon bought a property and opened Victoria Avenue, and next to Mr. Hudon, Messrs. Bryson and Warminton bought the large Hurtubise farm, and laid it out in streets running east and west to Claremont Avenue. Nearly all these properties ran from above the Cote St Antoine Road to the brow of the ridge overlooking St. Henri, and formed a large part of the plateau now Westmount.

As these new avenues had no outlet except St. Antoine Road, their owners, who had bought on speculation, were naturally anxious to secure an outlet at or near the south or lower end of their properties, and when Mr. Curry found me disposed to favour an avenue running west from Greene Avenue to the Upper Lachine Road, he interviewed the principal proprietors on the proposed line of road which would, when built, form a grand western entrance into the city on the upper level.

The result was the formation of the Cote St. Antoine Road Company, of which I became president. The line decided upon was that now known as Western Avenue, the name being chosen at my suggestion. I interviewed personally most of the *non-speculative* proprietors, some of whom were opposed to having their nice farms and orchards broken up. The Grey Nuns, with that sound judgment which

marks all their actions, offered the land to continue St. Catherine Street, instead of allowing it to be turned into Sisson's Lane, as was then proposed and afterwards effected. This would have suited me better, as my neighbours to the south would gladly have given their quota of land, which one of my neighbours on the Western Avenue line would not do, and I had to contribute more than my share. As the St. Catherine Street line, however, would have been blocked at the deep ravines, and every one wanted a straight avenue, the Nuns finally consented to the Western Avenue line, but only to the width of sixty feet. This was got over by getting their consent to sixty feet *French measure*, which our contractor explained was about sixty-six feet English, which the other proprietors had agreed to give.

Western Avenue as planned was to be two miles long, but by the time the road was opened to Cote St. Luke Road, a little over two-thirds of that distance, the "boom" had collapsed, and the western portion was never opened, except about a hundred yards at the west end, where Mr. Hudon had another property. This now forms part of the Upper Lachine Road, a landslide having sent that road north to the line of Western Avenue.

The story of this, the most disastrous land "boom" Montreal and its suburbs ever experienced, would fill a volume, but can only be briefly referred to here. The Voligny-Drummond Syndicate, after expending over thirty-six thousand dollars, gave the Nuns back their land. Mr. Curry, after paying Mr. Monk a first instalment on his eighty thousand dollar purchase,

and paying many thousand dollars to open Kensington Avenue, transferred it back to Mr Monk, with the mortgages on the lots he had sold, and although Mr. Monk treated him with great consideration, both Mr. Curry and his wife died of broken hearts, owing to their heavy losses. Francis Dolan, a popular and wealthy retail dry goods merchant, who, as already mentioned, opened Lansdowne Avenue, and had spent money building cottages, was also obliged to transfer land and improvements back to the St. Germain Estate. Ephraim Hudon, who opened Victoria Avenue, was no less unfortunate, while the largest and most important of all these operators in real estate, Messrs. Warminton and Bryson, also lost heavily. They purchased and laid out in streets what was known as the Hurtubise property, which later became the property of La Banque du Peuple, and was purchased by the late T. C. Bulmer, at about six cents a foot, thirteen years ago. All these would have been good investments had the parties been able to hold, but they had bought more than they could carry. My land was paid for, and I sold it some years ago at forty-five cents a foot. This looks like a large profit, but deducting twenty-two thousand feet to open Western Avenue, and, adding interest and taxes to the cost, the profit on the transaction was very small.

I must not omit to mention the most ambitious of all these speculators in real estate and would-be millionaires, Mr. Thomas F. O'Brien, who had made a considerable fortune as a butter merchant and dealer in oleomargarine, which then sold as butter. He

was the founder of Mount Royal Vale, and his ambition was to own land running from the St. Lawrence to the Back River, in which he partly succeeded, for his property extended from the Upper Lachine Road to near St. Laurent village, and from that village to the Back River Road; he owned a farm of four hundred acres, on which he had opened, graded and fenced a wide avenue. But the hard times and the question of selling oleomargarine for butter came together to upset Mr. O'Brien's plans. Finally his mind became unbalanced, and he got into difficulties which caused him to leave the country.

Another speculation of that time or couple of years after may be worth recording, although not occurring at Cote St. Antoine. The question of enlarging the Lachine canal was on the *tapis*, and a number of gentlemen who thought they had the "inside track" bought from A. R. Hubert ninety arpents of land which lay alongside the Lachine Canal for \$180,000, paying fifty thousand dollars on account. The land was mostly a swamp, but the purchasers thought a swamp good enough to make a canal, and expected to make a handsome profit by re-selling to the Government. But "the best laid schemes o' mice and men gang aft agley." Alexander Mackenzie was seated on the "strong box," and all the speculators in Canada could not move him. The land was not bought, was returned to Mr. Hubert, and afterwards sold to Mr. Burland for *seventeen thousand* dollars.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE EXCHANGE BROKERS' BOARD. MR. LONGBOW'S SPECULATION.

The suspension of specie payments in the United States led to important changes in Canada's method of dealing with that country. As the bulk of our sales to, and purchases from, the United States were to be paid for in the unredeemable and fluctuating currency of the latter, it became necessary for the merchant to buy his bill of exchange when he bought his goods, so as to establish their cost in Canadian currency or gold. This was largely done through the banks and exchange brokers, and led to the formation of a Brokers' Board, where large amounts of New York exchange and "greenbacks" changed hands daily.

Thus, an importer purchasing a cargo of grain in Chicago, to be paid for on delivery in Montreal, bought his exchange the same day, either from his bank, or from a broker in good standing, who, in turn, covered the transaction at the Brokers' Board for future delivery. This led to many time transactions, and, of course, to much speculation up to 1879, when specie payments were resumed. The Brokers' Board also dealt largely in United States silver coin until 1870, when the action of the Government removed that coin from Canada, as already recorded.

During the existence of this Board of Brokers,

which disappeared with the resumption of specie payments, an extraordinary event took place which may be worth recording. A young broker, who, for the sake of those bearing his name, we will call Mr. Longbow, was admitted to the Board, and having married a well-to-do farmer's daughter, was known to have considerable means, and, in consequence, enjoyed good credit. Mr. Longbow had bought from five or six members of the Board many thousand dollars of United States currency or "greenbacks," to be delivered on a certain day at noon, to be paid for by cheque, good an hour later, as was the custom of the Board, no member having at the time any idea of the extent of Mr. Longbow's transactions. About half past twelve, when deliveries had been made, his clerk, on returning from lunch, found his employer lying bleeding on the floor of his office and the "greenbacks" gone. Two brokers who had delivered over ten thousand dollars between them to Mr. Longbow called to see how soon their cheques would be good, and found him in the condition described. I was third on the scene and found his forehead and arm cut and bleeding. As soon as he was lifted to his feet and his face wiped, he explained that the customers who had contracted for his greenbacks were two Americans, whom he described, but who, instead of paying for them, had knocked him down and made off with the whole. At the request of the other brokers interested, I got him into a cab and took him to the Central Police Office, still bleeding, where he described his assailants, and officers were sent to watch all the outgoing trains and steamboats. Returning with me to his office, he

examined his money-drawers, where several hundred dollars in silver and Canadian currency remained untouched. Then he looked into his safe, where several thousand dollars of United States bonds were also found intact. Putting the silver and Canadian money into the safe, he locked up the whole in presence of the brokers, who still lingered about his office, stated that he would close up, get some lunch, and do what he could to assist the detectives. By this time his wounds, which did not appear to be very severe, had ceased to bleed.

About four o'clock a former employer of Mr. Longbow told a broker, who was in for six thousand dollars, that he did not like the looks of things, and getting into Mr. Longbow's office by a side door, began a search, not for gold, but for "greenbacks." Nor was the search in vain, for never did a Klondiker's eyes open wider, nor with more reason, on finding a rich nugget, than did the broker and his friend, when on pulling out from under the large safe a large parcel wrapped in a newspaper and tied with a strong cord, they found the missing greenbacks amounting to thirty-two thousand five hundred dollars. A few minutes later the broker and his friend passed up the street followed by a crowd of children, the broker carrying the parcel of the greenbacks in his arms as tenderly as if it had been an infant to be baptized, and the other broker, who was old and lame, holding on to his *confrere's* coat-tails, for fear of once more losing sight of his share of Uncle Sam's paper money.

In this order the procession marched past my office

on its way to the Merchants' Bank (now the Royal Insurance building), where it was lodged with Mr. Jackson Rae, the cashier, to be dealt with later.

The closing part of this business romance was nearly as dramatic as the opening. It had been arranged that Mr. Rae should meet the brokers interested in the evening, to decide upon their course of action. When all were present, that gentleman laid the greenbacks on the table, a large parcel more than a solid foot in size. One broker largely interested proposed to open the parcel and give each what belonged to him, when his old *confrere*, who had held on to the finder's coat-tails, and had but a small amount at stake, being well posted in legal quibbles, raised the question whether this was a failure or a robbery. Because, said he, if it is a failure, the money must be put into the hands of a guardian, and, if a robbery, into the hands of the Court. This was a serious matter for several of those present, who saw all their capital on the table, and some even more, and unless the greenbacks could be got at and placed to their credits, their cheques would be dishonoured.

At this crisis the broker already mentioned as largely interested, and whose son is to-day a well-known member of the Stock Exchange, took out his penknife, cut the cord that tied the greenbacks and the gordion knot at the same time, as with a bland smile he told his friend that the question of failure or robbery was not what they wanted to know just then, but whose greenbacks were in the parcel. Then opening the parcel he threw each broker the amount he had

delivered to Mr. Longbow, for all were just as they had been handed in, carefully put up, showing the amount and the broker's stamp. When the last package disappeared from the cashier's table, every one had got his own, and nearly the whole was left in Mr Rae's charge, to go to the different accounts in the morning, for the leading brokers kept their accounts in the Merchants' Bank.

It only remains to be told how Mr. Longbow came out of this extraordinary affair.

When the greenbacks were discovered, a warrant was taken out for his arrest, and a detective placed in his office to await his return. It was late in October, and about six o'clock, when it was getting dark, a key was put in the lock of Mr. Longbow's front door. When the detective demanded who was there, he was told the proprietor, and when the door was opened he found himself under arrest, charged with an attempt to defraud. He was tried and acquitted, but his defence cost him over two thousand dollars, having engaged the late Bernard Devlin, the leading criminal lawyer of his time. Nor, indeed, could it well have been otherwise, for there was no evidence to show that it was he and not the mythical robbers who hid the money. When all was over he admitted that the Devil had tempted him to the mad act, that the wound on his forehead was caused by knocking it against the safe, and that he cut his arm with the shoemaker's knife he used to cut the strings when tying up packages of silver.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE GREAT FIRE OF 1852.

The greatest fire that ever occurred in modern Montreal began about nine o'clock on Thursday morning, the 8th of July, 1852, on St. Lawrence street, above Dorchester street, and, with a west wind, was driven eastward, spreading upwards and downwards with great rapidity, and by the time it reached St. Denis street had extended down to Lagauchetiere street and up to beyond St. Catherine street, consuming the fine church near the corner of St. Denis and St. Catherine streets, with the bishop's palace adjoining. Lord Mark Ker and other officers of the Twentieth Regiment worked like heroes to stay the flames, and the late Alfred Perry was said to have led a gang of men which saved the General Hospital.

When the fire had reached Viger market, beyond Viger square, it was thought to have exhausted itself, as there was little more to burn in that direction; unfortunately, some sparks had reached Dalhousie square, now occupied by the car-sheds behind the Place Viger hotel, and the Hays' house, a fine new hotel and theatre caught fire, and fell a prey to the flames, carrying the fire to the Quebec suburbs. The whole of St. Mary street (now Notre Dame street east) was burned to the ground, as far as the jail, except the Molson's brewery, foundry and granaries, which were saved by the exertions of the men on the premises. Over twelve hundred houses were burned,

and nearly ten thousand people left without house or home.

The large level field below Sherbrooke street east, as well as the Champ de Mars, was covered with tents like a Scottish fair.

My brother-in-law (Mr. Somerville) and I worked all day assisting the unfortunate people to remove the furniture to a place of supposed safety, but the fire reached much of it a second time, till the open field seemed the only place of safety.

We went down to Dalhousie square at night to look upon the scene of devastation. As the houses were nearly all wooden, nothing but chimneys were visible, the whole scene looking like a forest through which the fire had passed.

I remember the morning of the fire very well. I was walking down town with the late M. H. Gault, who then represented several fire insurance companies, and when the fire-bells rang he left me at the corner of St. James and Bleury streets, running down the latter street to discover where the fire was located. All the insurance companies suffered heavily, particularly the local companies, which then did a much larger proportion of the insurance business than at present.

On Sunday I visited the tents which had been largely supplied by the military authorities. Such a motley crowd; it looked as if all the gypsies in the world had been brought together on that field. Still, being mostly French, they bore their misfortunes with that cheerfulness which is the characteristic of their race.

CHAPTER XXIII.

HON. C. C. COLBY, M.P., ON THE NATIONAL POLICY.

On Hon. Mr. Cartwright's motion to go into supply early in March, 1878, Mr. C. C. Colby, of Compton, made one of the ablest speeches ever delivered in the House of Commons; and, the *Ottawa Citizen* proposing to publish it in pamphlet form, Mr. Colby addressed the following letter to its proprietor. The letter and speech afterwards appeared in pamphlet form, and did much to bring about the National Policy. I cannot find room for the whole speech, but give Mr. Colby's letter and the leading features of his address:—

House of Commons
12th March, 1878.

“To C. H. Mackintosh,
Editor, *Ottawa Citizen*.”

“My dear Sir,

* * * I fully appreciate the efforts your journal has put forth in advocacy of a National Fiscal Policy. The speech upon tariff revision lately delivered by me in the House of Commons you are quite at liberty to use in any way you deem proper. Had I anticipated the extended publication you intend giving it I would have arranged it with greater care.

“You will recollect I entered the field of debate

as a tardy gleaner, having little reason to expect that I would be able to gather even a respectable sheaf.

“As the tariff question must exercise a large influence at the coming election, I think it important that there should be an accurate definition of respective party beliefs. No one of the Conservative party having dissented from my exposition of its platform, and the Finance Minister, and the Hon. Mr. Mills having manifested their assent, as step by step I laid down what I understood to be the Ministerial planks, the country may, I think, accept my definition as substantially correct. I endeavoured to prove that the declaration of the Hon. Mr. MacKenzie, ‘that if a particular trade was to be protected, it could only be done at *the expense of some other trade or industry,*’ is historically, and in fact untrue. The above declaration is the major premises of the free trade arguments as applied to Canada. If it fails the superstructure must fall.

“I endeavoured to show that the carefully stated announcement by the Finance Minister in his Budget speech, of the *mode* of taxation, in vindication of which he and his associates are ‘prepared to fight to the death,’ is, when analyzed, a pointed and emphatic declaration, that even the mildest form of incidental protection is ‘legalized robbery.’ Neither the Finance Minister, the Hon. Mr. Mills, nor any member of the Government, although challenged, presumed to deny that the following dictum of John Stewart Mill is a true exposition of the mode of taxation, for the adoption of which the Government is prepared to ‘fight to the death.’

“Customs duties are *cæteris paribus* much less objectionable than excise duties, but they must be laid only on things which either cannot, or at least will not, be produced in the country itself, or *else their production* there must be prohibited (as in England is the case with tobacco), or *subjected to an excise duty of an equivalent amount.*

“I pointed out that there is nothing to prevent the adoption in Canada of this mode of raising revenue—if Ministers are retained in power and have the courage of their declared convictions—but that its adoption would cause the immediate overthrow of nearly all the manufacturing industries. *I endeavoured to show that the vaunted free trade of England is a novel and most ingenious form of protection, and that it was so intended, and that it was given to English manufacturers at a time when (they having entire control of the home market) protective duties were nugatory, and when the removal of duties from raw material and breadstuffs afforded them the most efficient aid and protection that Parliament had power to give.*

* * * *

“I intended to urge as essential to success in any industry which requires the employment of large capital, that the policy of a Government must be such as to inspire confidence and a feeling of security in the minds of capitalists. It has been well said that men do not embark their capital and skill in enterprises liable at any time to be destroyed by inconsiderate or unfriendly legislation. A staple order of things and a well founded confidence in the future are all

essential conditions of manufacturing success. Such stability and such confidence the English manufacturers have always enjoyed. Alike in peace and in war, under all administrations, he has been able to rely upon the steady and enlightened co-operation of his Government, to protect, encourage and extend the manufactures of Great Britain, has been the wise and uniform policy of her statesmen for at least a century, and the result is seen in a manufacturing prosperity that is without parallel. What confidence or security can Canadian manufacturers be expected to feel when the Government which shapes the fiscal policy of the country lacks faith in the possible success of their enterprises, and declares that they can be 'fostered only at the expense of other industries,' and that any form of protection to them is 'legalized robbery.'

"I intended also to call attention to the following remarkable words of the Hon. the Finance Minister's speech at Fergus; Mr. Cartwright said:—'After all said and done, the three great sources of our wealth are our farms and their products, our forests and our fisheries and ships. I do not say that our manufactures should be abolished. I do not undervalue their importance, nor do I say that there are not valuable sources of wealth in our mines; but at present the wealth of Canada must proceed mainly from those three great sources named.' If the Finance Minister lacks faith in the success of the other industries, it may be fairly assumed that *during his financial administration those other industries will not succeed in Canada.* I will not say it is unpatriotic,

but surely it is unwise, by such discouragement, to chill the hopes and energies of our people. Such words, even were they true, do not tend to make a nation great and prosperous. Mr. Cartwright seems always to ignore that fruitful source of wealth and prosperity which lies in the energy and capability of a people, if by any means these forces have a fair field for activity and development.

“For illustration, see how the sons of New England—educated in the thorough training schools of her diversified industries—have diffused peculiar energy, ingenuity, invention, skill, thrift and practical knowledge of affairs, so that it may almost be said that the blood of New England is the life of the progress of the United States.

“Finally, I think, we are bound to accept the recent utterances of Ministers as declaratory, not only of their belief in the efficacy of free trade for Canada, but also of their intention to give effect to their views so far and as fast as they can influence public opinion in that direction. The collapse of the sugar refining business, and the embarrassment of various industries which they refused to foster clearly indicate what must follow the adoption of such a policy.

“No one having the remotest confidence in their honesty and consistency can believe that they intend to *practice protection* while they *profess free trade*. Such a belief would be an imputation of insincerity and duplicity. It would, in effect, charge them with the deliberate purpose of giving countenance to free trade views in sections, where free trade dogmas are

popular, and at the same time reserving to themselves the advantage of being able to state in other sections that, as in the past, so in the future, the exigencies of the revenue will necessitate a high tariff.

“Their protectionist followers must indeed cherish a dismal hope if it has no better foundation than a belief in the *insincerity* of their leaders.

“I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

CHAS. C. COLBY.”

SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD'S AMENDMENT.

On the 12th March, 1878, the House resumed the debate on Mr. Cartwright's proposed motion: “That the speaker now leave the chair for the House to go again into supply”—and the motion of Sir John A. Macdonald, in amendment thereto, “that all the words after the word ‘that’ be left out and the following be inserted instead thereof, ‘It be *resolved* that this House is of opinion that the welfare of Canada requires the adoption of a National Policy, which, by a judicious readjustment of the tariff, will benefit and foster the agricultural, the mining, the manufacturing and other interests of the Dominion; that such a policy will retain in Canada thousands of our fellow countrymen now obliged to expatriate themselves in search of the employment denied them at home; will restore prosperity to our struggling industries, now so sadly depressed; will prevent Canada from being made a sacrifice market; will encourage and develop an active interprovincial

trade; and moving (as it ought to do), in the direction of a reciprocity of tariffs with our neighbours, so far as the varied interests of Canada may demand, will greatly tend to procure for this country eventually a reciprocity of trade.

Speaking to this amendment, which, it will be seen, is taken largely from the resolutions of 1858, Mr. Colby said:—

“ I deem it a fortunate circumstance, and I think the country will hail with satisfaction the fact that the two great political parties have at last found an important, living and vital issue upon which they can fairly and honestly divide, and upon which they can rest their respective claims to public confidence. I think I am not wrong in saying that for the first time since we became a Dominion has such an issue arisen. In the main, the two great political parties have been in unison upon those great measures which have been initiated and carried on since the Confederation of the Provinces. There were differences, for instance, with respect to the construction of the Intercolonial Railway, but not with regard to the principle involved, both parties agreeing that that railway was a necessity. There were differences with regard to the acquisition of the Northwest Territories, but they were differences of detail, differences as to the terms upon which they should be acquired, not as to the policy of their acquisition. So with respect to the acquisition of British Columbia.*****It is a matter of regret that the parties which have been arrayed against each other have not found better and greater questions upon which to

exercise their ability. As a consequence of this, our politics often descend to personal issues, and to unworthy attacks on the characters of public men, for which neither of the great parties is entirely blameless.

THE NEW PARTY ISSUES.

But we have at last a great question, an economical question, a question upon the solution of which will largely depend the future of the Dominion. It is not, I believe, as was stated by the Hon. the Minister for the Interior, in one of those picnic speeches, of which we have a voluminous record, a contest between knowledge and ignorance; it is not a contest between a generous spirit and selfishness; it is not, as has been stated by the Premier, a question in which the views of one party savoured of barbarism and the barbarous age, but it is a question upon either side of which the best minds of all civilized countries have been for many years engaged. It is a question on which a certain class of thinkers, able, intelligent, acute, thoughtful men I admit them to be, hold certain theories and views which they believe are applicable to all conditions of affairs, in which I will freely admit they are fortified by prestige of the great manufacturing and commercial success of England since she started upon the policy which they so loudly applaud. But, on the other hand, it must be remembered that while the *doctrinaires* are so strengthened by that illustrious example, they are opposed by the statesmanship of every country with the exception of England. That the leading public and influential

men who controlled the fortunes of France, Germany, Russia and the United States, and every other civilized country, so far from having accepted the views of these *doctrinaires*, have acted upon a different policy, which is recognized as that of the Opposition in this House to-day, the policy which is affirmed by the amendment proposed by the Right Hon. Member for Kingston.

* * * *

The amendment before the House is comprehensive, though concise. It implies that it is the duty of every nation to adjust its customs tariffs to its own special needs; that the impossible task is not imposed upon any country of looking after the interests of every other nation, but a duty devolving upon each nation to adjust its own tariff with special reference to its own peculiar needs, having in view, also, its relations to other countries. Every customs tariff should aim at developing the maximum of production of which the country is capable. In framing a tariff we should consider all the resources of the country, all its dormant and unused energies and capabilities; the wealth which lies below the soil in our mines, as much as the wealth of the soil, and the wealth above the soil in our lumber. We should also consider the resources of the country with reference to its capability of becoming a successful manufacturing nation; and more than that, we should consider the capacity and aptitude of the people, and aim at framing the tariff so as, in the largest degree, to develop the varied powers of all the people, and give them an opportunity of engaging in that calling or department of

business to which they may have special aptitude or inclination. We do not believe in the views propounded by gentlemen opposite, that it is not the business of the Government to care for any of these things, that Government is a mere taxation and revenue distributing machine which should move according to certain fixed laws and ultimate principles. The supporters of this amendment claim, on the contrary, that the financial policy of a country should not be based on any ultimate principle of free trade or protection, but that it should be specially adaptive to the conditions of the country to which it is applied.

A TRUE NATIONAL POLICY.

MR. CHARLTON'S VIEWS IN 1876.

We believe that every customs tariff should have a distinct and definite purpose and intelligent aim; that it should be based upon a correct estimate and appreciation of all the varied resources and capabilities of the country, and should shape them in the direction of the best possible development. The general views affirmed in this amendment have been more than once stated in this House by many able and thoughtful members, clearly and distinctly, yet the House will pardon me for stating that the exposition of my honourable friend, the member for North Norfolk (Mr. Charlton), in 1876, then a protectionist, but now a free trader, was the clearest and best that has been given. I do not propose troubling the House with a recital of the Hon. gentleman's speech,

but will submit an analysis of its main propositions in their consecutive order. I aim at perfect fairness, and beg the honourable gentleman to correct me if I make mis-statements. This reference to the speech is not made for the purpose of placing the honourable gentleman at any disadvantage, or because he has since changed his opinions, but because it is the most careful, the best considered, the most clear and concise statement of the views now held by the Opposition that has yet been given on this much debated subject. The honourable gentleman laid down as his first (1) proposition, that a Government could be paternal and yet be free. In this he directly controverted the position taken by his leader, the Finance Minister, in his Budget Speech last year, and vindicated one of the cardinals in the platform of the Opposition. His next proposition (2) was, that no nation had attained greatness in manufactures or commerce without having imposed exactions and restrictions. This was a plain statement of an historical fact, upon which the Opposition lay great stress, and its truthfulness was clearly demonstrated by the honourable gentleman in his speech on the subject. The next (3) proposition was, that protection was especially necessary in a new country—and ours is a new country—to enable it to compete with countries where manufactures are established. The honourable gentleman recognized in speech the fact that the cheap money, the acquired skill and the prestige of older manufacturing countries would take the lead in the race, and, as admitted by John Stuart Mill, and other free traders, the countries that had the lead, all things being equal,

would keep it; he held that this advantage an old manufacturing country had, must be counteracted by restrictions in order to enable the new country to get a start in these industries. The next (4) proposition was, that judicious protection benefited the nation at large, and especially *the farming interest*; that it created for the farmer a *home market*, and that the purchasing power of labour was increased. The Opposition believed equally with the honourable gentleman, that protection did benefit the agricultural interest, and it believed also that the purchasing power of the farmer's labour would be vastly enhanced by the creation and proximity of home markets, as was clearly stated by that honourable gentleman. Again he laid down the fifth (5) proposition, that the experience of the United States, under a protective policy, was a clear and marked illustration of the benefits of protection. If this was true when the honourable gentleman stated it, it is equally true now; and before I sit down, I will adduce a few facts in corroboration. The honourable gentleman next (6) said that the tendency of protection was not to increase, but to cheapen prices to the consumer. This is an uncontrovertible proposition. Protection is merely a defence of the markets of a nation to the people of that nation. It simply gave a fair field to competitive skill, industry and capital, where the highest prizes are for those who supply the best and sell the cheapest products. The honourable member for North Norfolk cited the iron and cotton manufactures of the United States as indisputable proof of the fact that the tendency of protection is to

cheapen prices. And he went further than even the amendment. He stated the fact, which, I think, he was justified in stating, that protection had been beneficial to the shipping interests of the United States as well; so that he covered the whole range of industries which come under the tariff, and he stated so emphatically, lucidly and concisely, the various propositions upon which this amendment is predicated, that his speech was not only the most convenient method of formulating these propositions, but it was more effective, perhaps, than I could myself have given, but for that memorable delivery. The honourable gentleman has changed his views, but I have nothing to say to that at the present moment.*****

THE MINISTERIAL POLICY.

The counter propositions are equally distinct. They are the ordinary staple free trade dogmas, which we have had frequently in this House from the lips of men who have thoroughly studied them. One of the first distinct intimations of a new policy with which we have been favoured is in a speech delivered in 1876, by a gentleman who stood very high in his party, and who then foresaw that these propositions might become a party issue. I refer to my honourable friend the member for North York (Mr. Dyond). He said in this House, in 1876 particularly, addressing his honourable friends in this House, that the good old word, reform, had served a good purpose in its day, but that the time had happily now arrived

when there, was perhaps very little to reform, that it was important for the success of the Liberal party that they should take a new departure, and take a new watchword, that they should place upon their banner a new motto, and the motto he gave them was one very dear to himself (for he was brought up at the very feet of Gamaliel, and had imbibed free trade with his mother's milk). The motto which he proposed to substitute for reform, and around which reformers shall hereafter rally, was the words "free trade." My honourable friend (Mr. Dyond), having uttered the word, seemed to think that perhaps he had gone too far, and that it was hardly fitting in him to lay down a platform for the party. Casting his eyes across the House, he caught the anxious look of the member for Hamilton, and dropping his voice to a scarcely audible undertone, repeated "free trade, as it is understood in Canada." His clarion notes, proclaiming free trade, had reached away down to Nova Scotia, but his cautious undertone was intended only for the ear of the honourable member for Hamilton and their friends, the manufacturers. The "motto," as modified, was calculated to serve the double purpose of rallying the free trade party around a grand banner, and at the same time of quieting his honourable friends from Hamilton, who were a little restive that the free trade nag should be trotted out so prominently. That was the first note, but my honourable friend was cautious not to place himself in a position where it would be impossible to retract, provided it should be found that he had gone too far.*****

THE CORNER STONE LAID BY THE PREMIER.

One would not be justified in fixing the responsibility of any set of views upon a party based upon the utterances of any individual supporter of that party, however high they might stand in that party's ranks. I find the Hon. the Premier, however, making use of these words, and they may be accepted as authoritative:—

“The mere passage of an Act of Parliament would never establish any trade; and would never foster any industry, unless it were to change from one pocket to another the proceeds of the industries of the country. If a particular trade or industry were to be fostered, it could only be done at the sacrifice of some other trade or industry. There was no theory more consonant with the dark ages of the world than that which protection afforded.”

Now, this was a cardinal of free trade; it was the essential principle of free trade. It proceeds upon the assumption that if protection is given to any industry, it is necessarily done at the expense of some other industry of the country, and consequently, that protection must be wrong—wrong in its very essence, for the country must be injured by it. What did this doctrine do? Preached among the people, it made them believe that every industry in the country was the enemy of every other industry; it taught them to be jealous of the growth of every industry except the particular one in which they themselves were engaged. The Opposition, on the other hand, believe in the sisterhood of the great industries; they believe that these industries are all of the same family, co-workers, independently, yet inter-depend-

ently, working out the prosperity of the country. They do not believe in the principle that because one industry prospers, it does so, necessarily, by fattening on another industry; or that the growth of one involves the destruction of another. Here is a point upon which these honourable gentlemen on the Treasury Benches, and those who do not concur in their views, differ essentially. Here is the very point where the roads diverge. The Opposition believe that the promotion of one industry betters another.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN'S OPINION.

Mr. Colby then referred to Dr. Franklin's opinion, and quoted from his writings the following passage:—

“Here it is well known and understood that wherever a manufactory is established which employs a number of hands, it raises the value of the land in the neighbouring country all round it, partly by the greater demand near at hand for the produce of the land and partly from the plenty of money drawn by the manufacturers to that part of the country. *It seems, therefore, the necessity of all our farmers and owners of land to encourage our young manufactures in preference to foreign ones imported among us from foreign countries.*”

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE ST. ALBANS' RAID.

On the 19th October, 1864, about twenty young men, claiming to be a part of the army of the Southern States, and said to have escaped from an island in Lake Erie, where the Northerns had placed their prisoners, reached Montreal, and from thence made a raid upon the town of St. Albans, in the State of Vermont, and, according to the charge laid against fourteen of their number who were arrested, "on the oath of Marcus Wells Beardsley and others, for that he, the said William Hutchinson (and others), on the nineteenth day of October, 1864, at the town of St. Albans, in the State of Vermont, one of the United States of America, being there armed with a certain offensive weapon and instrument, to wit, a pistol, commonly called a revolver, loaded with powder and balls, and capped, in and upon one, Marcus Wells Beardsley, felonously did make an assault upon him, the said Marcus Wells Beardsley, in bodily fear and danger of his life, then and there did put a certain sum of money, to wit, to the amount of seventy-six thousand dollars, current money of the United States of America, and of the value of seventy-six thousand dollars, currency money, aforesaid, of the moneys and pro-

perty of the Franklin County Bank of St. Albans, aforesaid, against the will of the said Marcus Wells Beardsley, and in his presence, then and there felonously and violently did steal, take and carry away, against the form of the statutes of the said State of Vermont."

This charge came before Judge Coursol, J.S.P., but was dismissed by him on the ground that he had no jurisdiction. The case was then brought before Judge Smith, of the Superior Court. The array of counsel composed the leaders of the Montreal Bar, including Mr. J. J. C. Abbott, Mr. B. Devlin, Mr. F. G. Johnson, Mr. M. Edwards, of Vermont, Mr. Strachan Bethune, Hon. John Rose, Mr. Edward Carter and Mr. Ritchie, Q.C.

The circumstances connected with the St. Albans' raid are clearly shown in the speeches of the leading counsel. Mr. Laflamme, on behalf of the prisoners, said:—

"The prisoners are accused of having robbed one Breck in St. Albans on the nineteenth of October last of \$300. What are the facts of the case, as disclosed by the evidence adduced before your honour? In the month of September last, Bennet H. Young, a lieutenant in the Confederate Service, being in Chicago for some political object, calculated to advance the cause of his country, finding it impossible to carry out his plan, determined to fulfil the instructions which he received from his Government, to raise a body of twenty men of escaped Confederate soldiers, he was commissioned for special duty; they, as soldiers, were bound to join and obey. The plan

was organized, then, in the enemy's territory. They were enrolled by him for the purpose of making an attack upon and sacking the town of St. Albans. All of these men were risking their lives by their presence in the enemy's country. The bare fact of their organizing there was, of itself alone, a bold and daring act. Their allegiance was to the Confederate States. Be the unfortunate contest right or wrong, they were actuated by the most noble, the most disinterested and patriotic motives; every one of them had already imperilled their lives in their country's cause. Feeling as they did for the injuries committed against their native land, they thirsted for revenge. Called by their superiors to inflict punishment on their enemies, by burning and plundering the town of St. Albans, they cheerfully obeyed; they proceeded to carry out that plan so far as was in their power. They left Chicago, some four or five coming through Canada, and twenty meeting in the town of St. Albans, inhabited by over five thousand inhabitants, at a distance of eighteen miles from the frontier. In open daylight they collected together, armed with revolvers, took possession of their banks, in the name of the Confederate States, sacked them, set fire to the town in three places, and, from the beginning, stated that they were Confederate soldiers. The prisoners went through the town, made prisoners of all they met, provided themselves with horses taken from the people, and, after making, perhaps, double their number of prisoners, they left the place, pursued by an armed band of citizens, who kept close fire upon them. They, however, succeeded in making

their escape into Canada, where fourteen of them were arrested at the request of the United States authorities."

Mr. Kerr, in defence of the prisoners, said:—

"That this is one of the most important cases ever presented for the consideration of our Courts will not be denied—that it has already produced a greater effect upon the passions and prejudices of men, both in Canada and the former United States, than any other *cause celebre* in this Province, will readily be admitted. It has already been a moving cause of a call to arms within the Colony. It may justly be looked upon as the origin of those fears which culminated in the denial of asylum to political refugees by our Provincial Parliament. From it the careful observer can trace the origin of the pressure brought to bear upon our Judges, to induce them to degrade the palladium of the law into the minister of the temporary passions of the Government and the servile instrument of the United States. The very papers produced by the prisoners were bought by the price of blood, for one of the messengers despatched to Richmond to obtain information for your honour, but the day before yesterday, expiated the crime of being a loyal soldier, a true friend and a gallant patriot, on the gallows of Johnson's Island. Your honour can read in the treatment of the messenger the certain fate of those who sent him on this errand." In conclusion, Mr. Kerr said:—"No American statesman, nor any writer of moment, has ever asserted that these men should be extradited. They have complained of the want of sufficient prevention

on our part of such outrages. They claimed that the offenders should be punished for the violation of our soil, for the abuse of our hospitality by the Southern refugees, but none have dared to assert as a legal proposition that they are entitled to obtain the extradition of the prisoners. Our Government has complied fully with their demand by passing the Alien Bill, and I trust that will be considered sufficient satisfaction."

Mr. Strachan Bethune, Q.C., on behalf of the United States Government, said:—

"It has been a matter of much surprise to myself and I have no doubt has also been to your honour, that in neither of the addresses of the two learned counsel who have spoken on behalf of the prisoners, has there been any attempt, either by argument or authority, to prove that what was done on the occasion here in question was a legitimate act of war. To supply the place of argument or authority, we have been favoured with citations from books to the effect that in general it is lawful for one belligerent nation to kill members of the other belligerent nation, and to seize or capture their property, and with the assertion oft repeated, that in all that occurred at St. Albans on the 19th of October last, the prisoners acted under lawful authority."

After quoting authorities, Mr. Bethune continued:

"These authorities establish that, according to the recognized rules of modern warfare, the property of private persons or non-combatants is exempt from seizure or confiscation, except in the special cases of penalty for military offences, of forced contribution

for an invading army, or as an indemnity for the expenses of maintaining order and affording protection to the conquered inhabitants, and of taking property on the field of battle, as in storming a fortress or town. And in all these excepted cases, the action of armies or parties of men openly acting in the character of armed enemies is alone contemplated.

“Now in the present case, the facts disclose merely that the prisoners and their associates secretly introduced themselves into an unarmed town, at a point far removed from the scene of hostilities, and there, in the garb of citizens, entered certain banks in open day; and when all others but themselves had retired, and suddenly displayed firearms and robbed the banks and the individual Breck, who happened at the time to seek admission into one of them for the purpose of retiring a note. It is true that, in acting as they did, they claimed to be Confederate soldiers, and that in the streets they affected to take prisoners, and discharged their fire-arms, wounding one man and killing another; but, once the booty was secured, they all decamped on the horses which they had also stolen, leaving their so-called prisoners free. In all this we see nothing of the characteristics of war, and fail to discover any other object than robbery and plunder, under pretence of war. No one could seriously contend that such an act, *per se*, is an act of war. The only pretention that can be urged is, that in consequence of the alleged commission and instructions produced by the prisoners' counsel, the act was *constructively* one of legitimate warfare.* * * *

“The next point I have to submit is, that all the prisoners are proved to have resided in Canada for months previous to the raid, and their chieftain (Young) had, in the fall of 1863 and winter of 1864, been attending the University of Toronto, they all being escaped prisoners from Camp Douglas. As a matter of law, then, the prisoners, by making Canada an asylum, had ceased to be belligerents; and, inasmuch as the expedition started from neutral territory, and returned thereto with their spoil immediately after its accomplishment, the expedition was *absolutely unlawful*, and under any circumstances created a *forfeiture* of the *neutral protection* of this country.”

Mr. Frank G. Johnson, Q.C., then Crown Prosecutor, was equally explicit. In the course of his remarks, he asked:—

“What is the natural consequence of robbing Mr. Breck? Is it that the national power of the United States is prostrated, or in the remotest manner affected by it? The natural consequence is that Mr. Breck loses his money; but it requires a great deal of imagination to conceive, and a good deal of ingenuity to explain, how that fact tended to exhaust the national resources, or to attack in any manner the national existence. * * * * *

“I gather from some part of the testimony—I forget whether it was in the case of Breck, or in some previous proceedings—that there was, at or near St. Albans, an arsenal or some such national structure, and in the town itself, one, and only one, soldier. These opportunities of glory and destruction are,

however, neglected. The arsenal and the soldier are, strange to say, both untouched, and poor old Mr. Breck is made to play a part in the history of a modern war which must have surprised him as much as it has surprised me and the rest of the world, who had formed different views of warlike achievements and martial glory."

In closing, Mr. Johnson said:—

"Our duty is not confined to affording a sanctuary within our territory under all circumstances for those who call themselves political offenders.

"The further duty of seeing that the privilege of asylum is not abused to the injury of a friendly power is equally imperative. We are bound to consider whether the neutral is only resorted to because it offers a safe and convenient resting-place in the intervals of warfare, and as the readiest means of inflicting with impunity injury in any other shape on the friendly power; whether, in fact, the acts of public hostility or private wrong would ever have been undertaken and committed but for the proximity of the supposed asylum—whether they are not in reality attributable to and prompted solely by the facilities which our territories afford both for attack and escape. We must enquire whether the *animus* in which it is sought is to obtain peace and security, and whether the party fleeing comes in the light of an exile. If we are satisfied of the contrary, then we must say that this neutral ground cannot, under the name of an asylum, be used as a vantage ground, and that the party fleeing from territory hostile to him has, by his own acts, forfeited the security which

nations usually accord. He has no right to abuse the only privilege which our soil confers—that of being safe so long as he is passive.”

In speaking for the prisoners, Mr. J. J. C. Abbott said:—

“The view I desire to submit is one allied to, and yet different from, the merely legal and technical arguments which may be used with regard to this case. I contend that we have a right to look at the spirit of the Treaty, and of the statutory enactments based upon it, and that we cannot forget and have no right to overlook the changes which war has produced in the States with which we made that Treaty, and in our relations with that State.*****Now the treaty was made to promote the transmission for trial from one part of this continent to another, of persons who had committed crimes of the darker class, respecting the character of which North and South agreed with ourselves—crimes which Vermont and Georgia alike prohibited, and which it was impossible alike for them and for any other civilized State or people to approve of, or even to tolerate. There was no intention on the part of the United States, when the treaty was passed, to stipulate for the extradition for trial as criminals in Vermont, of persons who were regarded in Georgia as daring and devoted patriots, and for acts which Georgians held to be praiseworthy, if not heroic. The Northern and Southern States were alike parties to that treaty through their general Government; they agreed to reciprocal extradition for the same offences—and the offences that so formed the subject matter of their

and our agreement, were offences which they and we united in regarding with abhorrence, and as deserving of extraordinary exertions for their punishment in the interest of our respective communities. Now, what is the position of these men, and the light in which their acts are regarded by the parties to that treaty? The North regards them as robbers. They press their demand with unparalleled vehemence, and so violent and unmeasured are they in their wrath that their Legislature, their press, and even their pulpits, resound with opprobrious epithets, which are heaped upon the prisoners.*****In one word, one section of the nation with which we made the Ashburton Treaty denounces them as robbers, while the other extols them as patriots. Twenty millions of men under an organized Government demand them as felons; but ten millions under another organized Government existing *de facto* claim them as meritorious soldiers. And it was with these thirty millions of men then constituting but one community that we made our treaty.

“These seem to me to be subjects for your honour’s grave consideration. These men are demanded for trial. For trial by whom and how? Is it for such a trial as it would be presumed an ordinary criminal would have in ordinary times?—when justice is administered in the United States by judges second to none in learning and impartiality; by juries composed of educated and independent men; and when the rules by which they are guided are the humane and just principles upon which their and our criminal laws are alike based? Your Honour

knows—every one knows, that no such trial awaits these prisoners. It is before judges like Judge Nelson, who must declare their defence inadmissible in law, who must decide that the Sovereign State of which they acknowledge themselves the subjects is not entitled to their allegiance.

“Is it to a tribunal thus composed that these men are to be trusted? Is it from such judges and such juries that these men are to receive a fair, calm, and impartial trial? * * * * I implore your honour well and truly to weigh these things. I cannot and will not believe it possible that such a cruel injustice will be done to these unfortunate men, as to permit of their delivery to their enemies, with the certainty of an ignominious and degrading death. I feel that my advocacy of their cause has been insufficient, though I have devoted to it my best energies; but I know that my deficiencies will be supplied by your honour’s full appreciation of the whole case. And in that confidence I leave it in your hands, certain that your honour’s decision will be such as will be dictated by justice and tempered with mercy.”

Judge Smith delivered judgment on the 13th December, 1864, which occupied three hours and a half in delivery. In summing up the Judge said:—“I am, therefore, constrained to hold that the attack on St. Albans was a hostile expedition authorized both expressly and impliedly by the Confederate States, and carried out by a commissioned officer of their army in command of a party of their soldiers, and, therefore, that no act committed in the course of, or as incident to, that attack, can be made the ground

of extradition under the Ashburton Treaty. And that if there had been any breach of neutrality in its inception, upon which point I state no opinion, it does not affect this application, which must rest entirely upon the acts of the prisoners within the territory of the State demanding their extradition, and upon their own *status* and authority as belligerents.

“I am bound to scrutinize with a greater degree of caution the circumstances of any case which appears to possess a political character, or which seems to grow out of the struggle which is now proceeding. And I must be the more scrupulous in weighing the pretensions of the prisoners as to their justification by their possession of a belligerent or political character, when I know that the defence arising out of such a character, which England would recognize as valid, if sustained, would not even be received or listened to in the United States as being sufficient in law, however fully substantiated. This question was discussed in the United States during the trial of the ‘Savannah’ case; and the defence of the prisoners that they were commissioned belligerents was ignored by the dictum of Judge Nelson, charging the jury, as a matter of law, that neither he nor they could take that defence into consideration at all until the belligerency or independence of the Southern States was recognized. It behoves us, therefore, to be satisfied that the offence of robbery, according to our interpretation of the position of the Confederates, has really been committed before I consent to order these prisoners to be remitted for a trial of the issue they raise in their defence, to a tribunal

which would ignore that defence as insufficient in law, however satisfactorily established.

“With this view of my duty, I have gone carefully, and, perhaps, at unnecessary length into this matter. I have considered it proper to enter at greater length into the examination of some questions, which, perhaps, in themselves, admit of no great doubt, but upon which, in my humble judgment, erroneous views have been entertained, and urged with great earnestness at the bar. I have endeavoured to guide myself by what is recognized as law by the civilized world, instead of suffering myself to be swayed by popular cries, or the passions and influences which the proximity of this lamentable convulsion has stirred up among us. And I have come to the conclusion that the prisoners cannot be extradited, because I hold that what they have done does not constitute one of the offences mentioned in the Ashburton Treaty, and because I have consequently no jurisdiction over them. I am of opinion, therefore, that the prisoners are entitled to their discharge.”

It was understood that the Canadian Government would prosecute the prisoners for breach of the Neutral Laws, and that the United States would withdraw its suit. Nothing, however, was done; the property of the raiders was restored to them, and our Government settled with the St. Albans' banks, the United States currency at that time being worth less than fifty cents on the dollar.

CHAPTER XXV.

JOSEPH HOWE.

My work would be incomplete did I fail to notice that great Canadian, perhaps I should say Nova Scotian, Joseph Howe, who had been compared to Lord Beaconsfield, but whom it would be more correct to call the Canadian Gladstone. Truly the cool breezes of the Atlantic Ocean have given to us our greatest orators, if not our greatest men. The son of a United Empire Loyalist, his chief characteristic was loyalty to his Sovereign and to his country, both of which he was ready to defend with an eloquence rarely equalled, and never surpassed. His great speech at the Detroit International Convention in 1865 will be long remembered for its eloquence, its patriotism and its kindly, yet independent bearing towards our American neighbours. No other Canadian could have told the same plain truths without giving offence, for his heart and the heart of Nova Scotia was always in sympathy with the United States, and this was well known to that vast assembly.

Born in 1804, Mr. Howe died in 1873, having scarcely reached the scriptural limit of "three score years and ten." Having filled almost every position open to him in his native country, he died shortly after assuming the Governorship of his native Province. A brief synopsis of his Detroit speech is all the notice I can afford of that wonderful man.

Called upon to speak for his fellow Colonists before nearly five thousand public and business men, Mr. Howe introduced his remarks as follows:—

“ I never prayed for the gift of eloquence till now. Although I have passed through a long public life, I never was called upon to discuss a question so important in the presence of a body of men so large. I see before me merchants who think in millions, and whose daily transactions would sweep the harvest of a Greek island or Russian principality. I see before me the men who whiten the ocean and the great lakes with the sail of commerce—who own the railroads, canals and telegraphs, who spread life and civilization through this great country, making the waste plains fertile, and the wilderness to blossom as the rose. I see before me the men whose capital and financial skill form the bulwark, and sustain the Government in every crisis of affairs. On either hand I see the gentlemen who control and animate the press, whose laborious vigils mould public sentiment, whose honourable ambition I can estimate from my early connection with the profession. On those benches, sir, or I mistake the intelligence to be read in their faces, sit those who will yet be governors or ministers of state. I may well feel awed in the presence of an audience such as this; but the great question which brings us together is worthy of the audience and challenges their grave consideration.

“ What is that question? Sir, we are here to determine how best we can draw together, in the bonds of peace, friendship and commercial prosperity,

the three great branches of the British family. (Cheers.) In the presence of this theme all petty interests should stand rebuked—we are not dealing with the interests of a city, a Province, or a State, but with the future of our race in all time to come. Some reference to ‘elevators’ has been made in your discussions. What we want is an elevator to lift our souls to the height of this great argument. Why should not these three great branches of the family flourish, under the different systems of government, it may be, but forming one grand whole, proud of a common origin and of their advanced civilization? We are taught to reverence the mystery of the Trinity, and our salvation depends upon our belief. The clover lifts its trefoil to the evening dew, yet they draw their nourishment from a single stem. Thus distinct, and yet united, let us live and flourish. Why should we not? For nearly two thousand years we were one family. Our fathers fought side by side at Hastings and heard the curfew toll. They fought in the same ranks for the sepulchre of our Saviour in the earlier and later civil wars. We can wear our white and red roses without a blush, and glory in the principles those conflicts established. Our common ancestors won the great Charter and Bill of Rights, established Free Parliaments, the Habeas Corpus and trial by Jury. Our jurisprudence comes down from Coke and Mansfield to Marshall and Story, rich in knowledge and experience, which no man can divide. From Chaucer to Shakespeare, our literature is a common heritage. Tennyson and Longfellow write in one language, which is enriched by the genius

developed on either side of the Atlantic. In the great navigators from Cottreal to Hudson, and in all 'moving accidents in flood and field,' we have a common interest. On this side of the sea we have been largely reinforced by the Germans and French, but there is strength in both elements. The Germans gave to us the Sovereigns who established our freedom, and they gave to you industry, intelligence and thrift; and the French, who have distinguished themselves in arts and arms for centuries, now strengthen the Provinces which the fortunes of war decided they could not control. But it may be said we have been divided by two wars. What then? The noble St. Lawrence is split in two places—by Goat Island and by Anticosti—but it comes down to us from the same springs in the same mountain sides; its waters sweep together past the pictured rocks of Lake Superior, and enrich in their loving embrace the shores of Huron and Michigan. They are divided at Niagara Falls, as we were at the Revolutionary war, but they come together again on the peaceful bosom of Ontario. Again they are divided on their passage to the sea; but who thinks of divisions when they lift the keels of commerce, or, when drawn up to Heaven, they form the rainbow or the cloud? It is true that in eighty-five years we have had two wars—but what then? Since the last we have had fifty years of peace, and there have been more people killed in a single campaign in the late civil war than there were in the two national wars between this country and Great Britain. The people of the United States hope to draw together the two conflicting elements and make

them one people. And in that task I wish them God-speed! (Cheers). And in the same way I feel that we ought to rule out everything disagreeable in the recollection of our old wars, and unite together as one people for all time to come. (Cheers.) I see around the door the flags of the two countries. United as they are there, I would ever have them draped together, fold within fold, and let their varying tints unite, and form in Heaven's light one arch of peace." (Applause.) After thanking the Board of Trade and the people of Detroit for the hospitality extended to the delegates, he continues as follows:—

"The most important question to be considered at this great meeting involves the relations that are to subsist between the inhabitants of the British Empire and the citizens of the United States. Before we can deliver a rational judgment upon this question, it becomes us to consider what those relations are now. The British Government controls the destinies and regulates the trade of 250,000,000 people; distributed over the four quarters of the globe, and in the British Isles alone, the machinery in constant running order, does the work of 800,000,000 more. Now, in what spirit has the British Government, controlling this great Empire, dealt in commercial matters with the United States? It has extended to them all the privileges of the most favoured nation, and has opened up to them, on the most easy terms, the consumption for everything that they can produce, of all these people. Millions of emigrants and hundreds of millions of money have flowed in here without any unwise laws to dam up the streams of industry and

capital. Leaving those of her Provinces that have Legislatures free to regulate their own tariffs, Great Britain restrains them from discriminating as against the productions of this country, even in favour of her own. Though burdened with an enormous debt, and always compelled to confront the military monarchies of Europe with a powerful force by land and sea, the people of England prefer to pay direct taxes to burdening commerce with heavy import duties. Year by year the highest financial skill of the nation has been employed to discover how its tariff could be simplified, port charges reduced, obsolete royalties removed; and, year by year, as trade expands and revenue increases, taxes are reduced or abolished upon articles of prime necessity consumed by the great body of the people. I notice that some writers in the West complain that wheat is sent into this country from Canada, duty free; but it should be remembered that the surplus of all the cereals, ground or unground, is not only admitted to the British Islands duty free from the United States, but to almost, if not to all, the ports of our widely extended Empire. It is sometimes said that because this country admits breadstuffs from Canada, manufactures free of duty should be taken in return. But Great Britain and the Provinces take annually an enormous quantity of breadstuffs and meat from this country, but do not ask from you the privilege that some persons would claim from us.

“In the departments of economic science, Great Britain has made advances far outstripping in liberality the policy of this or any foreign country. France

and the United States continue to foster and extend their fisheries by high bounties, but Britain leaves her people without any special encouragement to meet on the sea and in foreign markets the unfair competition to which they are subjected by this system. Great Britain throws open to the people of this country the coasting trade of the entire Empire. * * * * * I assert that Great Britain, with a liberality which would do honour to any Government, has thrown open this whole trade without any restriction. She says to us, if not in so many words, 'you are all children of mine and are dear to me. You are all on the other side of the Atlantic, possessing a common heritage; make the best of it. (Hear, hear.) Your vessels are permitted to run to Halifax, from Halifax to St. John, from St. John to British Columbia, and from British Columbia to England, Scotland or Ireland. They are allowed to go coasting around the British Empire until they rot. But you do not give us the privilege of coasting from one end of your Atlantic coast to the other. And now I hope that our friend from Maine will acknowledge that in granting this privilege, with nothing in return, Great Britain gave you a pretty large slice.' (Cheers and laughter.)

"When the civil war broke out, one-half of the seaboard of the United States was blockaded, and all the advantages of the Reciprocity Treaty, so far as the consumption of the ten millions of people in the Southern States was a benefit to the Provinces, were withdrawn. Assuming that the treaty runs over ten years, it will be seen that for the whole of that period

the people of this country have enjoyed all the benefits for which they stipulated, while the British Americans, for one of ten, have derived no benefit at all, and for four entire years have lost the consumption of one-third of the people with whom, by the treaty, they were entitled to trade. Recognizing the political necessities of the period, British subjects have made no complaints of this exclusion, but it ought to be borne in mind, now that the whole subject is about to be revised. * * * * *

“ Mr. Chairman, let me now turn your attention to some of the topics touched upon by other gentlemen in the course of three days’ debate. Some gentlemen seem to be apprehensive that if this treaty is renewed it would lead to illicit trade along the frontier. For a long time your duties were lower than ours. Mr. Sabine said he was once a smuggler. At that time he could not carry on business at Eastport and be anything else. The traders on the whole coast of Maine were engaged in the same business, and so was Massachusetts; and small blame to them. The smuggler is a check upon the extravagance of the Governments, or the increase of taxation. (Cheers.) Any country that raises its tariff too high, or increases its taxation too far, will be kept in check by smugglers. The boot was formerly on your leg; now it is, perhaps, on the other. You have been driven into a war which has created a large expenditure and increased your taxation. It would perhaps pay at this moment to smuggle some articles from the Provinces into this country. You are entitled to defend yourselves against it. But at the same time

bear this in mind, that one of the main objections in the Maritime Provinces to this treaty was, that it gave to your people the power of smuggling. And that power you possess, and may use to any extent you please. (Laughter.) Over thousands of miles of coast we cannot afford to keep revenue officers. Down come cutters from Maine, with flour, pork, salt, etc., but we cannot tell what they have in the salt. (Great laughter.) Why, sir, we sometimes laugh at Yankee notions; one of those is what is called white-eye in the Provinces—a life-destroying spirit which these coasters bring and deluge our coasts with, and it comes in the salt. (Laughter.) So in like manner with the tea, tobacco and manufactures. Why, a fisherman can land on any part of our 8,000 miles of coast, and when challenged by our custom house officers, he can answer that he has a right to land there. The custom house officer withdraws, and the white-eye is landed. And I tell you what we do to adapt ourselves to the circumstances. We are free traders, and we maintain our Government, have an overflowing treasury, and carry on our public works with a tariff of ten per cent. The only way we can keep out smuggling is to keep our tariff so low as to make it not worth while for any one to smuggle.

“Let me now draw your attention for a moment to the value of these North American Fisheries. You have behind and around you here, boundless prairies, which an all bountiful Creator annually covers with rich harvests of wheat and corn. The ocean is our prairies, and it stretches away before and around us, and Almighty God, for the sustenance of man,

annually replenishes it with fish in myriads that cannot be counted, having a commercial value that no man can estimate. The fecundity of the ocean may be estimated by the fact that the roes of thirty codfish annually replace all the fish that are taken by the British, French and American fishermen on the Banks of Newfoundland. In like manner the schools of mackerel, herring and all other fish that swim in the bays and trim around the shores are replaced year by year. These great storehouses of food can never be exhausted. But it may be asked, does not the free competition which now exists lower the prices? No, codfish have never been higher in the markets of the world than they were last summer. Herrings are now selling in Baltimore at \$13 a barrel. Thirty years ago I used to buy No. 1 mackerel in Halifax at \$4 a barrel. They now cost \$18, and I have seen them selling since the Reciprocity Treaty was signed at \$22. The reason of this is, that relative to all other employments, fishing is a perilous and poor business, and that, with the progress of settlement and growth of population in all these great States and Provinces, to say nothing of the increased consumption in Spain, the Mediterranean, the Brazils and the West Indies, all that your fishermen and ours can catch will scarcely supply the demand. I placed before the committee a paper signed by two American merchants carrying on trade in Prince Edward Island, which proves that, under the Treaty, your mackerel fishery has flourished and expanded to an extent unexampled in its former history. Taking two years prior to the existence of the Treaty, and contrasting them

with the last two years, they show that the vessels employed had increased from 250 to 600. That the tonnage had increased from 18,150 tons to 54,000 tons, that the value had increased from \$750,000 to \$4,567,500, and that the men employed had increased from 2,750 to 9,000. The herring fishery has been equally prosperous. I have seen two American seine boats on the coast of Labrador take 500 barrels of herrings (worth, at Baltimore prices, \$6,500) in a single afternoon. The net fishing is also profitable. These fisheries, sir, are sufficient for us all. The French, who are anxious to build up a powerful navy, maintain 10,000 men by their bounties in these North American waters, and it is most creditable to our fishermen, that in the face of these bounties and of yours, they have been able, by strict economy and hardy endurance, to wrestle for a share of these ocean treasures, to maintain their families and increase their numbers."

Mr. Howe, after dealing in the same able manner with the coal and lumber interests, closed as follows:

"I must now touch upon a subject of some delicacy and importance. It has been urged by Mr. Morrill, in Congress, and by the people of the United States, that the treaty ought not to be renewed, because it had bred no friendship towards them across the lakes—that in their struggle the sympathies of the Provinces were against them. Well, if that were true in its fullest extent, which it was not, if they had not had one sympathizer among the native people and British residents of the Provinces, it could fairly be pleaded in response that when Great Britain was at war with

Russia, the sympathies of the American people were very generally with the latter country. I was in the United States at the time, and was perfectly astonished at the feeling. Russia was at that time a country full of slaves, for the serfs had not been emancipated, and England was at war with her to prevent her aggressions upon, and making slaves of the weak neighbouring countries. How the American people could sympathize was a perfect puzzle at first sight, and could only be explained in the same manner that much of the sympathy for the South on the part of the British subjects could be explained. And when the Canadians once had a rebellion within their borders, where were the sympathies of the American people then? Were they with the Canadian Government, or were they with the rebels? Why they (the Americans) not only sympathized with them, but I am sorry to have it to say, they gave them aid along the frontier in many ways, and to a very large extent.

"I am happy to have it to say that during the whole four years of the late rebellion in the United States there has not been developed a particle of evidence to show that a single citizen of any British North American Province has put a hostile foot upon your soil. (Loud applause.) Everything of which complaint could be made has been the act of your own rebellious people, in violation of the hospitality and right of asylum everywhere extended to them on the soil of Great Britain and her dependencies. I make these remarks in no spirit of anger or of excitement, but to show how unfair it is to hold any Government or people responsible for the actions of a few evil disposed in-

dividuals, as how natural it was for sympathy to be aroused in the minds of people on one side or another. In our rebellion, when its attention was called to their acts, the United States Government exerted itself to keep its own citizens within bounds, and all that could have been asked of the Provincial authorities has been freely done to prevent any cause of complaint against them. It is something to be able to say that during the four long disastrous years of the war just ended, not a single act of which complaint could be made has been committed by a Canadian. Notwithstanding the false reports that were circulated, I do not believe there is a single intelligent citizen, of my Province at least, who did not believe that the capture of the 'Chesapeake' off the coast of Maine, by rebellious citizens of the United States, was nothing less or more than an act of piracy. And so of the St. Albans' raid. The Government of Canada acted most promptly and nobly in connection with that affair; and has repaid the money which rebellious citizens of the United States had carried into their territory from the States banks. (Hear, hear.) As to their harbouring the rebels, and extending to them the right of asylum, is there a single American here who would have his Government surrender that right? There was not an Englishman, nor an Irishman, nor a Scotchman, nor any American who would not fight three wars rather than give up that sacred right. (Applause.) How many excellent citizens of the United States were there among them at this moment, and how many were there who had helped them to fight their battles, who dare not

go back to their own native lands across the ocean on account of political offences? The American people would not give up these refugees to their respective Governments and thus surrender their right of asylum; they would, every man of them, fight first. (Applause.) It is very proper that criminals should be given up, and a treaty for that purpose has been made between England and the United States. They could sympathize with political offenders, but need not sympathize with criminals.

“When Abraham Lincoln fell by the hand of an assassin, the act was reprobated throughout the Provinces as well as throughout the British Empire. (Hear.) But admitting that a large number of people in the Provinces sympathized with the rebels, what of that? Did not a large number in the Northern States sympathize with them? Nobody ever saw two dogs fighting in the street or two cocks fighting in a back yard without having his sympathies aroused, he scarcely knew why, in favour of one or the other of the combatants, and generally the weakest. (Laughter.)

“Suppose a good deal of feeling was excited in some portions of the British Provinces, was that any good reason for refusing to allow us to trade with our brethren south of the lakes? The sympathy expressed for the South ought to be well balanced by the young men whom they had drawn from the Colonies with their conflict. (Hear, hear.) For one ton of freight sent to the Southerners, and for one young man sent to aid their cause, we have sent fifty tons and fifty able bodied soldiers to the North. The people of the

Provinces might lay the charge against you of having seduced their young men away from their homes, and left their bodies bleaching on southern plains, or rotting in southern prisons. Only a short time ago I met no fewer than thirty British-Americans going home on a single vessel, after having served three years in the war, and having left scores of their companions behind to enrich the soil. At Washington I met a brave son of one of my colleagues in the Legislature of Nova Scotia, who held the rank of lieutenant in a Massachusetts regiment, with only one leg to take back to his home, instead of two. (Loud cheers.) I met another veteran from my Province who had fought in twenty battles, and was on his way home. In my own family and person I have suffered not a little by this unhappy rebellion. I have five boys, and one of them took it into his head to enter your army. He has now been for nearly two years in the 23rd Ohio regiment, and has fought in all the battles in which that regiment has been engaged during that period. He was in both the great battles under Sheridan, in which Early's forces were scattered and the Shenandoah Valley was cleared. (Loud and long continued applause.) All the personal benefits that I have derived from the Reciprocity Treaty, or hope to derive from its renewal will never compensate me or that boy's mother for the anxiety we have had with regard to him; but when he produced the certificates of his commanding officers showing that he had conducted himself like a gentleman, and had been faithful and brave, it was some compensation for all our anguish to know that he

had performed his duty." (Enthusiastic applause, during which the speaker's feelings nearly overcame him; as this subsided, a gentleman proposed "Three cheers for the boy," which was given with great vivacity.)

"I know that it has been asserted by some, and I have heard it uttered since I came to the Convention, that if the Reciprocity Treaty is annulled, the British Provinces will be so cramped that they will be compelled to seek annexation to the United States. I beg to be allowed to say on that point that I know the feeling in the Lower Provinces pretty thoroughly, and believe I am well enough acquainted with the Canadians to speak for them also, and I speak for them all, with such exceptions as must be made when speaking for any entire population, when I make the assertion that no consideration of finance, no question of balance for or against them, upon interchange of commodities, can have any influence upon the loyalty of the inhabitants of the British Provinces, or tend in the slightest degree to alienate the affections of the people from their country, their institutions, their Government, and their Queen. There is not a loyal man in the British American Provinces, not a man worthy of the name, who, whatever may happen to the treaty, will become any the less loyal, any the less true to his country on that account. There is not a man who dare, on the abrogation of the treaty, if such should be its fate, take the huskings and appeal to any constituency on annexation principles throughout the entire domain. The man who avows such a sentiment will be scouted from society by his best

friends. What other treatment would a man deserve who should turn traitor to his Government and violate all obligations to the country which gave him birth? You know what you call Copperheads, and a nice life they have of it. (Laughter.) Just such a life will the man have who talks treason on the other side of the lines. (Applause.) The very boy I have alluded to as having fought manfully for the 'Stars and Stripes,' would rather blow out his own father's brains than haul down the honoured flag under which he has been born, the flag of his nation and his fatherland. (Cheers.) I do not believe there is a young Canadian in the American army who does not honour his own flag as you honour yours, and they would be worthy of being despised if they did not.

"If any member of the Convention harbours the idea that by refusing reciprocity to British America, they will undermine the loyal feelings of the people of those Provinces, he is labouring under a delusion, and fostering an imputation upon the character and integrity of a great and honourable people of the most dastardly kind that can by any possibility receive a lodgment in his breast. (Loud and continuous applause.) Some gentlemen from Maine asked me if we were not building fortifications in the Provinces. Well, after so many threats from Northern newspapers, that so soon as the rebellion had been put down, and Mexico attended to, the face of the army would be turned towards Canada, it was not to be wondered at that the mother country should become a little anxious about her children so far from

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home, and send out an experienced officer to report upon the situation. The officer did not report any army in sight, but reported that, if they did come, Canada was in a very poor condition to receive them; and it was resolved to build some further fortifications at Quebec, and there has been some talk about places further westward, but no action has been taken. But what do we see on the other hand? I passed down the Penobscot a few weeks ago, and what did I see there? A great frowning fort of the most approved pattern, looking as new and pretty as if it had just come from the mint. At Portland also, I observed some extensive fortifications. But I have no faith in fortifications. I do not rely on military defences.

Our country needs no bulwarks,
No towers along the steep,
Our march is o'er the mountain wave.

“And our homes are in the mart, on the mountain, and the prairie, wherever there is good work to be done, and God’s gifts to be appropriated. I have faith in our common brotherhood—in such meetings as this—in such social gatherings as we all enjoyed so much last night. I sincerely hope that all thought of forcing annexation upon the people of Canada will be abandoned, and, if not, that you will seek a more pleasant sort of annexation for your children and children’s children. It was a novel mode of attaching them that the people of Detroit adapted in lashing a fleet of their steamers together, and getting up such a grand entertainment, and there was no

question that it had a strong tendency to promote one kind of annexation, especially among the young people. As a measure of self-protection, I put myself under the care of a pretty, little New Brunswick woman, and charged her to take good care of me until we got safe ashore. (Laughter and applause.)

"I fear I am detaining you too long." (Cries of "go on," from all parts of the house.) "In conclusion, let me say, that in dealing with this subject I have spoken in an open manner, and kept back nothing that ought to be said upon it, considering the limited time at my disposal. My friend, Mr. Hamlin, wished us to 'show our hands'; we have done so, and shown our hearts also in all sincerity. The subject is of vast importance to us all. Though living away down East, I take a deep interest in the great West, and I trust God will spare my life long enough to explore its vastness more thoroughly than I have yet been able to do, that I may the better discuss the great interests created by its commerce. British America has a great West, as yet almost entirely undeveloped; out of which four or five states or provinces may yet be formed, to pour their wealth down the great Huron into Canada, and through the straits past the city of Detroit, to the ocean, while the manufactures of the United States, of England and of the Provinces go back to supply the wants. The moment Providence gives me opportunity, I will return to the West and examine its resources and understand its position, in order that I may lay before my own people and the people of the provinces generally, and the capitalists of the mother country, an adequate

idea of its importance, with a view of promoting a more active settlement and development of the territory on both sides of the boundary line, for the trade would be as valuable to the world on the one side as on the other."

It is needless to say that Mr. Howe resumed his seat amid great applause, but this he has omitted in his revised speech.

APPENDIX.

LORD ELGIN'S VISIT TO MONTREAL.

Before Lord Elgin left Canada, the perambulating Parliament had moved to Quebec; and it was after the great Liberal victory of 1854 that the party split in two, the Lower Canadians uniting with a part of the Western Liberals in forming the McNab-Morin Government, and originating what is known to this day as the Liberal-Conservative party. It, therefore, fell to the "gallant knight" to move the Address to the Governor-General, recognizing his great services to the Province, a task rather humiliating in view of his course in 1849, but politicians sometimes do curious things. But Sir Allan was not alone in recognizing the Governor's services. At London, Hamilton, Toronto, Kingston, Montreal and other places, he met the most enthusiastic reception, and it is little wonder when he reached Montreal that his heart was overflowing.

I was present in the parlour of the Donagana hotel when he bade Montreal good-bye. He was then in his forty-fourth year, but looked like a man of sixty. He read his farewell address, although he was a fluent speaker, and the reporters said he was one of the few whose speeches could be reported *verbatim*. He became greatly excited towards the close of his address, and when he came to say, "I shall forget," he threw aside his manuscript and almost in tears exclaimed, "but no, what I might have had to for-

get is already forgotten, and, therefore, I cannot tell you what I shall forget." He then shook hands with the crowd who were present, myself among the number. I have often wondered whether his parting words were those he had written. They seemed to have come to him on the spur of the moment. His closing words were as follows:—

"I shall remember, and remember with gratitude, the cordial reception I met with at Montreal when I came a stranger among you, bearing with me for my sole recommendation the commission of our Sovereign. I shall remember those early months of my residence here when I learned in this beautiful neighbourhood to appreciate the charms of a bright Canadian winter day, and to take delight in the cheerful music of your sleigh-bells. I shall remember one glorious afternoon—an afternoon in April—when looking down from the hill at Monklands, on my return from transacting business in your city, I beheld that the vast plain stretching out before me, which I had always seen clothed in the white garb of winter, had assumed, on a sudden, and, as if by enchantment, the livery of spring, while your noble St. Lawrence, bursting through its icy fetters, had begun to sparkle in the sunshine, and to murmur its vernal hymn of thanksgiving to the bounteous Giver of light and heat.

"I shall remember my visit to your Mechanics' Institute and Mercantile Library Associations, and the kind attention with which the advice I tendered to your young men and citizens was received by them. I shall remember the undaunted courage with which the merchants of this city, while suffering

under the pressure of a commercial crisis of almost unparalleled severity, urged forward that great work which was the first step towards placing Canada in her proper position in this age of railway progress.

"I shall remember the energy and patriotism which gathered together in this city specimens of Canadian industry from all parts of the Province for the World's Fair, and which has been the means of rendering this magnificent conception of the illustrious consort of our beloved Queen more serviceable to Canada than it has perhaps proved to any of the other countless countries which have been represented there.

"And I shall forget, but no, what I might have had to forget is already forgotten, and, therefore, I cannot tell you what I shall forget."

In writing to Earl Grey in 1848, Lord Elgin said:—

"You may perhaps *Americanize*, but, depend upon it, you cannot, by methods of this kind, *Anglicize* the French inhabitants of this Province. Let them feel, on the other hand, that their religion, their habits, their prepositions, their prejudices, if you will, are more considered and respected here than in other portions of this vast continent, who will venture to say that the last hand which waves a British flag on American ground may not be that of a French Canadian."

Lord Elgin incidentally referred to singing the Rebellion Losses' Bill, when he spoke of returning from the city at the end of April.

THE BROWN FAMILY.

In 1856 I removed with my family to Toronto, and, in addition to doing an exchange business, established the *Canadian Merchants' Magazine*, a monthly periodical in which I advocated the development of Canadian industries. This brought me into communication with the public men of the day, many of whom were contributors to my periodical. We found a house in the same terrace in which Peter Brown and his family resided, and our families soon became acquainted. Mr. Brown was a "grand old man," whose family consisted of two sons, George and Gordon, two married, and one unmarried daughter, Catherine, the latter a great favourite in Toronto, and known to almost every one. The *Globe* had then been established for twelve years, was the organ of the Liberals, and its proprietor, George Brown, the leader of the Liberal party in Parliament, then sitting in Toronto.

George Brown was a very tall, broad-shouldered, sandy-haired Scotchman, nearly forty years of age, unmarried, and living at home, a gentle and much loved son and brother, and the idol of his family. In political life he was altogether a different individual. Refusing to believe in the sincerity of any one who differed from the *Globe*, then known in the West as *Brown's Bible*, he was unscrupulous in his attacks on political opponents, many of the most honourable men in Canada being singled out in black letters as traitors to their country, or worse, because they could not see eye to eye with the controller of the *Globe*.

It was during our three years' residence in

Toronto that an accident occurred in the Brown family, that it is no exaggeration to say threw all Toronto into mourning. Catherine Brown, while accompanying her aged father to New York to consult a specialist regarding her father's health, was killed near Syracuse in a railway accident, the old gentleman escaping with a few slight bruises.

Another incident in the Brown family may be of interest. Before Peter Brown left Scotland, he had met with heavy losses in business, and when he came to this country was considerably in debt. To this a young member of Parliament had the bad taste to refer, when George Brown's defence of his father was unconsciously a greater tribute to himself than to his father, for every one knew that it was George's money that was discharging his father's obligations. Mr. Brown's reply to this attack was as follows:—

“It is true that my father was a merchant in Edinburgh, and through unfortunate investments failed in 1836. It is also true that he held a public office, the funds of which got mixed up with those of his general business to the extent of £2,800, for which his friends were responsible, and which they paid. Part of that money has been paid, the rest will be paid shortly. I was then seventeen years of age, and was in no way responsible, but I felt then, as I feel now, the obligation that was laid upon me, and I vowed I should never rest till every penny had been paid. There are those present who have known my every action since I set foot in this country; they know that I have not eaten the bread of idleness, but they did not know the great object of my labour, the one end

of my desire for wealth was, that I might discharge those debts of my father's. I have been accused of being ambitious, I have been charged with aspiring to be Prime Minister of this great country . . . but I only wish I could make my opponents understand how infinitely surpassing all this, how utterly contemptible in my thoughts have been all such considerations in the comparisons with the one longing desire to discharge those debts of honour, and vindicate those Scottish principles instilled into me since my youth. . . But why, asked the person who made the charge, has he sat silent under it? Why, if the thing is so false, has he endured it for so many years? What sir, free myself from blame by inculcating one so dear? Say it was not I that was at fault, but my father! Rather would I have lost my right arm than utter such a word. No, sir, I waited the time when the charge could be met as it only could be fittingly met, and my only regret even now is that I have been compelled to speak before these debts have been entirely liquidated. But it is due to my aged father to explain that it has not been with his will that these imputations have been so long pointed at me, and it has only been by earnest remonstrance I have prevented him vindicating me in public long ere now. . . The member for Carleton now pretends that he did not mean to insinuate anything against my father; that he has a high respect for his character; I thank him not for the acknowledgment. No man in Toronto is perhaps better known in the community, and I think I could appeal even to his political opponents

to say if there is a citizen of Toronto at this day more thoroughly respected and esteemed. With a full knowledge of all that has passed, and all the consequences that have followed from a day of weakness, I will say that an honest man than Peter Brown does not breathe the air of heaven, that no man feels prouder of his father than I do to-day; and that I would have submitted to the obloquy and reproach of his every act, not fifteen years, but fifty—aye, have gone down to the grave with the cold shade of the world upon me—rather than that one of his grey hairs should be injured.”

To how many who have helped, or are helping their parents, do these noble words appeal?

THE MONTREAL BOARD OF TRADE ON THE SILVER NUISANCE.

Not wishing to lengthen the story of the silver nuisance by the insertion of this remarkable letter in its proper place, I give it the benefit of a place in the Appendix. The letter read as follows:—

“SIR,

“I am directed by the Council of the Montreal Board of Trade to acknowledge, with thanks, your circular of the 27th January, 1870, respecting the silver currency, and respectfully to offer for your consideration their views thereon. The Council having carefully considered the subject of the present silver circulation in the Dominion of Canada, whilst admitting the hardship and loss entailed on those who

held American silver when the discount was first deducted, would respectfully point out that the present holders of these coins having become possessed of them at a depreciated rate, and daily exchanging them for labour and commodities, both of which are now by custom settled on a silver basis, have no ground whatever either for complaint or relief.

“That in every store in the city and district of Montreal (whatever custom may exist in other parts of the Dominion) goods are invariably priced for current funds, or for silver with a discriminating value accordingly.

“That the convenience and simplicity of the present use of American and English silver greatly counterbalance, if they do not outweigh, any evils arising therefrom.

“That the poorer classes would not gain; on the contrary, would lose grievously by the withdrawal of this silver currency, and the introduction of a fractional paper currency so likely to be lost or destroyed in their keeping, and so exposed to forgery.

“That the British shilling is now, to the extent of ten dollars, a legal tender at twenty-four shillings and four pence currency for twenty, or say about twenty-four and three-tenth cents each.

“That any legislative enactments, with a penal clause to forbid the interchange of any coin or currency whatever, though it were even on African Cowrie, either above or below its nominal value, would be unworthy of a mercantile community, and would tend greatly to obstruct the freedom of interchange in cash and commercial commodities, which

is so much needed in a progressive and rising country such as Canada aims to be considered.

“That no objection is made to the proposed introduction of additional Canadian silver coinage; on the contrary, it will supply the void created by the recent heavy exports of silver, thus tending to increase the stability of the finances of the country, as the heavy quantity of silver afloat at the time of the suspension of the Commercial Bank in 1867, having contracted the circulation of the smaller bank bills, was greatly the means of averting that panic which would, doubtless, then have occurred had the labouring classes then held bank bills to the extent they did in former years.

“It is, however, to be borne in view that the quantity of silver required for use in Canada varies greatly at different times; that Canadian silver coin, if made the chief small currency of the country, would at times be very inconveniently deficient; at other times equally redundant, which, when scarce, it could nowhere be procured, and when too abundant it could not be sent anywhere outside of Canada except at a ruinous loss, whereas, British and American silver can always be promptly procured, or disposed of abroad, at a comparatively moderate expense.

“That the rates at which the Government propose to receive the silver are too much below its fair and current value, that the loss thus entailed on some is far beyond what is either reasonable or politic for any Government to exact.

“Looking at these objections to the plan suggested, and the probability that all the inconveniences attendant on the use of American silver will, ere long,

be removed, by a return to specie payments in the United States, the Council respectfully suggest that action on this matter should be deferred.

I have the honour to be,

Sir Francis,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) W. J. PATTERSON,

Secretary."

Hon. Sir Francis Hincks,
Minister of Finance,
Ottawa.

Sir Francis replied to this communication in a very long letter, quoting Macaulay as to the panic caused in England while the new silver was being coined, and stating his belief that the people would respect the Governor's Proclamation, and that to discuss penal legislation was quite premature, and concluding as follows:—"I am unaware of any facts which justify the opinion arrived at by the Council of the Board of Trade, that 'the inconvenience attendant on the use of American silver will, ere long, be removed by a return to specie payments in the United States.'"

It was nine years after this correspondence before the United States resumed specie payments. The letter to the Board of Trade set at naught the well-known principle, that an inferior currency will drive a superior out of circulation.

THE WEIR FAMILY.

Those of our name who take an interest in heraldry will be interested to learn that the Weirs were barons five hundred years ago, as is shown by the *History of the Somervilles*, edited by Sir Walter Scott, and published in 1815. On the death of the second Lord Somerville, 1434 (page 178, vol. I.), it is recorded that at the inquest held before Sir Hendrie Prestoune, of Craigmillar, Sheriff Principal and Provost of Edinburgh, "There was present those gentlemen whose names follow:—William Baillzie of Leamington, John Gerdoune of Aplegarth, Henrie Weir of Blaickwood, John Lauder of Hatton, Robert Logane of Restallrig, Sir John Edmontoune of Edmontoune, Sir William Borthwick of Borthwick, William Fairlie of Braid, James Fallsyde of that ilk, William Moubray of Barne-Bougill, Sir Alexander Damahoy of that ilk, Lindsay of Calvingtoun, and Roger Killpatrick of Clossburne." This account, written by the Right. Honourable John, Lord Somerville, 1679, goes on to say: Thir gentlemen being barrones, hes ther seales appended to this retour, upon red wax enclosed in white as the custome then was."

The same history (page 197) goes on to say, "In that year (1447) Lord Somerville contracts his eldest daughter Marie to Ralph Weir, and gives in portion with her 2,000 marks.

It may be well to explain that at that time, when a nobleman or estated gentleman died, an inquest was held by his neighbours, and the death certified to as mentioned above.

HANDWRITING EXPERTS.

To be a good judge of handwriting is a part of the business training of an exchange broker, and this was particularly the case before the era of greenbacks and national currency, when over fourteen hundred banks were in existence in the United States, all issuing notes and bills of exchange, the signature of whose presidents and cashiers the Canadian exchange broker was required to know. Books were to be had with the *fac-similes* of the signatures of the principal bank presidents and cashiers, and were constantly being referred to as occasion required.

Exchange brokers thus became *par force* experts in handwriting, and were often appealed to when charges of forgery were in question. In this connection a case occurred just thirty years ago, which showed the danger of relying upon expert testimony, as, but for the timely confession of the real culprit, an innocent man would have been ruined.

Shortly before a general election, the Hon. John H. Pope was in Montreal, it was understood arranging about candidates, when a letter addressed to him by Sir John A. Macdonald, instead of reaching its destination, found its way into the hands of the Hon. John Young, then spoken of as a candidate for Parliamentary honours. It reached Mr. Young in an envelope addressed to him with a slip inside, on which were written the words: "For the information of the Hon. John Young." As the letter referred to the coming election, its publication by Mr. Young created great excitement, and gave great annoyance to Sir

John and Mr. Pope, as they naturally concluded that there was a traitor in the camp, and made great efforts to discover his identity.

Experts were engaged to compare the handwriting of the post-office clerks with that of the writing on the slip. Two American and two Canadian "experts" expressed the opinion that the words "for the information of the Hon. John Young" were in the handwriting of a popular young man who occupied a responsible position in the post-office, and who was at once suspended. *Fac-similies* of the handwriting were published in the papers, and to me there appeared no similarity between the writing of the suspected clerk and that of the slip sent to the Hon. John Young. I was confirmed in my opinion by that of some of my *confreres*, and expressed my opinion before the commission that had been named to investigate the matter. Some of my *confreres*, I believe, were also examined, and gave similar testimony, but at first it looked *blue* for the unfortunate clerk, when a Boston, "expert" of great reputation was backed by two solemn looking Montreal gentlemen with serious faces and magnifying glasses, who expressed their opinion with an assurance almost incredible that the handwritings were the same.

When asked by the chairman of the commission what experience I had had as an "expert," I replied, over twenty years' familiarity with Canadian handwriting, whereas, to the Boston gentleman almost all Canadian writing would look alike, just as all French and German writing look alike to us. That he saw the national likeness, but not the family differences;

just as all Chinamen look alike to us, but all appearing different to each other. As to our local men with their magnifying glasses, it was like giving a mother a magnifying glass to identify a long absent son, while she would tell him better by taking in his whole figure.

The clerk was remanded for trial, and bail taken for his appearance, but before his trial the truth became known to his entire exoneration, the facts being as follows:—

Captain Pope, who was in command on the Island, was in the habit of sending daily for any letters for himself or his men, and the Pope-Macdonald letter had, by error, been placed in Captain Pope's mail-bag. The captain's servant, seeing the mistake, opened the letter, and, instead of re-addressing it to J. H. Pope, sent it to the Hon. John Young, as already stated; but the tempest he had raised alarmed him, and he quietly gave up his place and left for the United States; but, seeing that an innocent man was likely to suffer, he had the grace to write to the authorities explaining the whole affair, in the same handwriting as the slip addressed to the Hon. John Young, a *fac-simile* of which letter may still be seen in the papers of that time.

I mention this incident merely to show the danger of relying upon *expert* testimony, which is only valuable when the witness is thoroughly familiar with the handwriting in question, and is otherwise thoroughly reliable, and having no interest in stating what is not true.

THE CAT IN THE PULPIT.

When I went to Chatham, the Presbyterian Minister was the Rev. William Mair, a fine old gentleman, in rather delicate health for a parish which he described as "extending twelve miles on the Ottawa and as far back as he could win."

He was unmarried, owned his manse and glebe, and kept a man and his wife to look after his affairs. His dogs and cats were great pets, one dog in particular following him into the pulpit, and, if he happened to miss his master, would be seen trotting up the isle and scratching at the pulpit door till admitted.

On one occasion the cat found her way into the church, and, seeing the minister in the pulpit, went up the pulpit stair and made a spring for the book-board, where she landed in good style, while the minister was reading the first lesson. Here she went "purring" over the bible, in happy ignorance of the "risibilities" of the congregation. At last the minister was made aware of her presence when she attempted to catch the leaf which he was turning over, and without a smile on his countenance, he looked over the pulpit and quietly asked, "Will somebody put out the Cat, giving the C the broad sound with which every one who ever heard an elderly Scotchman read Latin is familiar. Of course, pussy was handled as she handles her own kittens, and ignominiously removed.

A COURT OF JUSTICE.

As my schoolhouse in Chatham was situated near the centre of the township, a Magistrate's Court was held there at regular intervals, the magistrates at that time being Mr. Greece, of Stonefield, Mr. Cushing, of Chatham, and Mr. Brown, of Brownsburgh.

The cases brought before that court were sometimes of an interesting and amusing character. On one occasion a defendant brought Mr. Jones, a lame lawyer (who drove in a low carriage) from St. Andrews, who brought with him as big a bag of law books as if he were to plead before the Supreme Court. When he had spread out his books with his quotations carefully marked, and had begun his argument, Mr. Greece, a blunt but well educated Englishman (the very picture of John Bull), stopped him short by remarking: "Mr. Jones, this is not a court of *Law*, but a court of *Justice*. If you have anything to say as to the justice of your client's case, we will hear you; but as for your law books we will not listen to them." Mr. Jones persisted for some time, but it was no use, and he finally bundled his books into his bag and took his departure in very ill humour.

HON. ISAAC BUCHANAN.

When I began the publication of the *Canadian Merchants' Magazine*, in 1857, many who had a panacea for Canada's ills contributed to its pages; among others Isaac Buchanan, of Hamilton, then one of the largest importers in Canada, and head of the firm of Buchanan, Harris & Co., of Montreal, Hamilton and London. He was then an advocate

of that covert Annexation Movement known as the *American Zollverein*, which had then many advocates. He was also a supporter of an irredeemable currency, known afterwards as the "Rag Baby." I managed to convince him that the proposed Zollverein was only *Annexation in disguise* and that England would never consent to it; and as regards an irredeemable currency, whatever its merits, it was not then a live issue—the only question being a more protective tariff. Shortly afterwards he ran for Hamilton on the protectionist ticket, was elected, and became the leader of the Protectionists in the House. He stood by increased duties on manufactures till that policy was victorious; stating frankly that his stake in the country was so large that its prosperity would do him more good than any increase in duties would do him harm. Next year, however (1859), during a liberal convention, he wrote as follows: "Let it therefore be resolved that, for our commercial system the principle should be adopted by Canada of an American Zollverein, in other words, *Free Trade with America, but not with Europe*. Hon. A. T. Galt, however, reported against the proposal, and there it ended.

The last heard of this covert Annexation movement was Sir Richard Cartwright's motion of the 19th March, 1889, "That in the present condition of affairs and in view of the recent action of the House of Representatives of the United States, it is expedient that steps, should be taken to ascertain on what terms and conditions arrangements can be effected with the United States for the purpose of securing full and unrestricted reciprocity of trade therewith." This motion was lost by a vote of 121 nays to 77 yeas.

THE MANUFACTURERS' MEMORIAL.

I think it will be a fitting "Finis" to this volume to give the Memorial of the Manufacturers' Association lately presented to the Canadian Government. There can be no greater mistake than to take it for granted that the manufacturers would be the only gainers by revising the tariff. In fact, they would in many cases be the losers, for by shutting out the Americans they would bring their factories into Canada in order to supply their customers, so that we would soon have *cheaper* instead of *dearer* goods. Below is the Memorial:—

"For some time past we have urged that in the interests of Canada her tariff question should be removed entirely from politics, and be viewed as a national business problem. As time passes, and the tariff wars of nations multiply, we are more than ever convinced that in this we are correct; and we believe it to be the duty of the Government of the day, irrespective of any party watchword or tradition, to immediately adopt that policy which will best defend the interests of our citizens, and not only secure for Canada the development of her vast resources, but preserve and foster within our borders those great industries which provide industrial opportunities for her people. In recommending an immediate and general revision of the tariff, this is our sole purpose, and we believe we need no other.

GENERAL REVISION NECESSARY.

"Six years have now elapsed since a general revision was made. During that time Canada and her resources have come to be better known, and the

rapid development of a young country such as ours demands a periodical revision in order to meet the changes in our industrial conditions, which are becoming more marked with each succeeding year. And, further, while we appreciate the importance of tariff stability, we are certain that you will agree that our own invested capital, the interests of our employees, and our desire for the general prosperity of our country, will forbid any recommendations on our part which might prove detrimental to the welfare of all concerned. Permit us, then, to call to your attention, in addition to what we have already pointed out, to a few general conditions which are affecting us seriously at the present time, and which afford unanswerable arguments for general tariff revision.

UNITED STATES DENOMINATION.

“Our most natural market, geographically, the United States, is meeting us in every branch of industry and at every opportunity with a closed door. Even in products of the soil, where we might expect to produce for their consuming millions, they purchased from us last year only \$8,000,000 worth, while our scattered and less protected population of one-fifteenth their number patronized their farmers to the extent of \$25,000,000. Nor does the difference in our tariffs affect us in this respect alone. The Canadian tariff in many items is so low, and the methods of competition and undervaluation of our United States competitors are so successful, that they are able to supply a large portion of the goods which we consume, and which, in order to benefit all cases, where the Canadian tariff would appear to be reasonably adequate, they can use us to their advantage and to our

own destruction by making our market the dumping-ground for their surplus products. We have stood by and watched their successful campaign. We have seen our imports from the United States grow during enormous sum of \$120,000,000. Surely it is a significant fact for all Canadian producers that, while we pride ourselves upon advancements made during the last six years, yet that during that time, with all our splendid resources, and our almost unlimited capacity for production, our imports from the United States increased nearly three times as much as they did during the preceding thirty years. Of the \$120,000,000 worth we bought from them last year, \$65,000,000 was made up of manufactured goods alone, or more than the value of the wheat grown last year in our whole Northwest. True, we may congratulate ourselves upon the expansion of our great Northwest, but what does it profit Canada if we give the whole of our Northwest crop in the encouragement of United States industries as opposed to our own, and enhance for the United States' farmer the value of his market, which excludes at every point the farmers of Canada?

BRITISH COMPETITION.

“Turning to the more distant but friendly markets of Great Britain, we find that the motherland purchased from us last year only \$117,000,000, as compared with \$631,000,000 which she purchased the previous year from the producers of the United States. We purchased from Great Britain, in turn, only \$49,000,000, or about one-third of the amount

supplied to us from the United States, and this in spite of the fact that we have given a preference of one-third of the entire duty to the products of the mother country.

THE PREFERENTIAL TARIFF.

“Your honourable Government will bear witness to the fact that our association has consented and supported rather than objected to the preferential tariff; and yet you must be aware that many of our industries are suffering to-day from the competition of the British manufacturer, with his tremendous output and his cheaper capital and labour. This grievance is aggravated by the fact that the preferential provisions are taken advantage of by manufacturers of Germany, and other countries, who have their goods practically transhipped from Britain, and thus obtain a preference in our markets, which they are not entitled to—a preference which is nothing short of an injustice to the manufacturers of this country. We are desirous that Great Britain and our sister Colonies should still be given a preference in this market, but who will defend the Canadian Government in continuing that preference to the detriment of Canadian capital and workingmen, especially when the Canadian producer receives no compensating preference in the markets of Great Britain?

OUR POSITION TO-DAY.

“From this brief outline, the whole situation in Canadian industrial development is apparent. Many of our industries have been comparatively prosperous

during recent years. This has been due largely to the abnormal prosperity which the world at large has enjoyed, the partial protection afforded by the present tariff, the growing excellence of the products of Canadian factories, and especially to the fact that the demands of the United States market, where industries are encouraged, have taxed the output of the United States manufacturers to its fullest capacity. This home demand has been so great that, recognizing the importance of their own market, they have sacrificed their export trade, and, speaking generally, have confined their attention largely to their own country. But even in spite of this it is quite clear that any ground gained by the manufacturers of Canada has only been by persistent struggle, and in face of the keenest competition from the United States, Great Britain and Germany and other countries. If such has been our experience during a period of prosperity, what may we expect when depression comes and our manufacturers are forced to compete against those gigantic aggregations of capital which control the specialized industries of the United States, and which, as our imports prove, have already changed the trend of business in many lines of manufacture? It is quite true that some of our most important industries are suffering to-day; but even those who are enjoying a measure of prosperity look into the future with grave apprehension, knowing by experience the ruin which will certainly sweep over us when the wave of prosperity begins to subside, and the first signs of a depression are felt in the great republic to the south. That this change is not far distant has already

been pointed by some of the highest commercial authorities and some of the keenest minds in the United States.

A NOTE OF WARNING.

"In view of all these facts, we believe it is our duty to sound the note of warning in Canada, and we believe that only a careful revision of the tariff can protect in any degree the industrial interests of our country if such conditions arise. While the reasons already cited refer more specifically to the needs of the manufacturing industries of our land, it is the earnest desire of our association that those tariff items affecting the products of our farms, our mines and our fisheries, should also be revised from the same national business standpoint, and such changes made as will ensure to Canadian producers the adequate defence of their industries in the home market."

THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED.

After the adoption of the foregoing memorial, the following resolution was carried by the meeting:—

"Resolved, That this meeting reaffirms the position taken by the association in its resolutions passed at the last annual meeting, held in Halifax, N. S., 13th of August, 1900, viz.: 'That the changed conditions which now obtain in Canada demand the immediate and thorough revision of the tariff upon lines which will more effectually transfer to the workshops of our Dominion the manufacture of many of the goods which we now import from other countries.' That in any revision of tariff the interest of all sec-

tions of the community, whether of agricultural, mining, fishing or manufacture, shall be fully considered, with a view not only to the preservation, but to the further development of all those great natural industries, and would especially recommend that in view of the fact that great quantities of farm products that could be grown in Canada are at present imported, the tariff on all such products should be sufficiently increased to give Canadians ample protection against their foreign competitors. Further, that this meeting reaffirms the position taken by the association at its Halifax meeting, that while the tariff should primarily be framed for Canadian interests, it should nevertheless give a substantial preference to the mother country, and also to any other part of the British Empire with which reciprocal preferential trade can be arranged, recognizing always that under any conditions the minimum tariff must afford adequate protection to all Canadian producers. And be it further resolved, that this meeting do now proceed to appoint a special committee to proceed to Ottawa at the earliest possible moment, there to urge upon the Government, in the name of the association, the absolute necessity of undertaking, at the present Session of Parliament, a thorough revision of the customs tariff upon the lines set forth in this resolution."

BINDING SECT.

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